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BALLAD BOOKS AND
BALLAD MEN

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

BALLAD BOOKS AND BALLAD MEN

Raids and Rescues in Britain, America, and the Scandinavian North since 1800

BY

SIGURD BERNHARD HUSTVEDT

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

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PREFACE

THIS book may be regarded as a sequel to my *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the Eighteenth Century*, published in 1916. The geographical field is much the same in this work as in that: Britain, America, and the Scandinavian countries; in this instance, however, I have given relatively greater space to the English and Scottish ballads and their history than in the other. The regional restriction is determined, not by any disregard for the ballads of other countries, but by the advisability of making some sort of limitation within the very extensive confines of the whole subject and by the conviction that northern Europe forms a ballad domain in many respects closely unified. An intimate correlation of this sort was recognized by Svend Grundtvig and by Francis James Child. In the history of British and Scandinavian balladry, the names of these two editors have become permanently associated. Their correspondence, as published in the Appendixes, will make the significance of that association more clear than it has hitherto been. The work of Grundtvig cannot be understood until we read the story of both the British and the Scandinavian ballads; the work of Child cannot be understood unless we know the story of the services of his Danish predecessor and collaborator, not only to balladry in general but to the English and Scottish ballads in particular. For reasons that will appear more fully in the course of the narrative, the emphasis in this book is laid chiefly upon collectors and published collections; the history of criticism is somewhat subordinated; the influence of folk-poetry upon other literature is treated incidentally. The discussion has to do almost exclusively with the history of such ballads as are commonly called popular. The popular ballads have made a historic place for themselves and therefore may conveniently and properly be treated apart from other ballads. I have no inclination to look askance at non-popular ballads. I believe, on the contrary, that non-popular ballads and the entire range of folk-song and popularesque lyric will in the future be found of the utmost consequence in determining the true metes and bounds of what we now designate by the somewhat fluid term *popular*. The non-popular ballads and lyrics that are being revealed to us in their true form and environment by such editors as Professor Hyder E. Rollins have, aside from their intrinsic value, an importance for the student of popular traditions that can be only suggested in a special treatise such as this.

It remains to record some of my obligations. I must confess myself fortunate in the books and essays I have found to read and in the personal assistance received from various scholars. I am glad to acknowledge here the kindness of Professor J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, of the University of Copenhagen; of Dr. Ernst von der Recke, of Copenhagen; of Mr. Carl S. Petersen, of the Royal Library in Copenhagen; of Mr. H. Grüner Nielsen and Mr. Hans Ellekilde, curators of the Danish Folklore Collection of the Royal Library. In Sweden it was my privilege to have the guidance of Mr. C. W. von Sydow, *docent* in the University of Lund, and of Mr. Sverker Ek, *docent* at the High School of Gothenburg. In Norway I had the good fortune to carry on my studies in daily association with Dr. Knut Liestøl, professor in the University of Oslo and curator of the Norwegian Folklore Collection in the University Library, and with his colleague in the Folklore Collection, Dr. R. T. Christiansen. I should have made little progress without the courteous aid of librarians and staffs in the following institutions: the university libraries of Oslo, of Lund, of Copenhagen, of Harvard College, of the University of California at Berkeley and at Los Angeles; the Advocates' Library, the British Museum, the royal libraries at Stockholm and at Copenhagen; the public libraries in Boston and in Los Angeles; and the Henry E.

Huntington Library at San Marino, California. Among these, I found the most useful stores, most readily available, in the various collections at Harvard University, especially in the Child Memorial Library.

The great advantage of studying the principal Scandinavian sources at first hand, I owe to an appointment as Fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation for the year 1922–1923.

For permission to print unpublished manuscript materials, particularly the letters of Grundtvig and of Child, I am indebted to the authorities of the University Library and the Royal Library in Copenhagen, and of the Harvard College Library, and to the family of Professor Child.

Professor G. L. Kittredge has put me in his debt once more for advice and direct assistance. It must be left to some future historian to recognize adequately Professor Kittredge's own work as a ballad man and his manifold services to students and collectors.

To my friend Dr. H. H. Stevens, formerly Instructor in German at Harvard University, a word of thanks.

To many other helpers, a general acknowledgment.

My wife has done more toward the completion of the work than can be expressed in precise terms.

S. B. H.

Los Angeles, July, 1930

CONTENTS

I. Some Definitions and Distinctions 3

II. Sir Walter Scott 22

III. The Ballad Clan of Scott 50

IV. South of the Border 79

V. Seventy Years of British Varia 111

VI. The Scandinavians and Their Kin 139

VII. Svend Grundtvig and the Modern School in Denmark 175

VIII. Francis James Child and Other Americans . . 205

IX. In Fine 230

Appendix A. The Grundtvig–Child Correspondence . 241

Appendix B. The Grundtvig–Child Index of English and Scottish Ballads 300

Bibliography 337

Index 359

BALLAD BOOKS AND BALLAD MEN

CHAPTER I

SOME DEFINITIONS AND DISTINCTIONS

> "Yes, in my favour," said Oldbuck; "Mr. Lovel, you shall be judge. I have the learned Pinkerton on my side."
>
> . . . .
>
> "Ritson has no doubt!" shouted the baronet.
>
> SCOTT, *The Antiquary*, Chapter VI.

THE names of Pinkerton and Ritson, familiar enough to baronets and antiquaries of an older day, have long ceased to be a sign of division between friends, except perhaps to a few who might chance to meet on some bypath of learning. Pinkerton's reputation has fallen into the sere and yellow leaf. Ritson's fame has not lost its afterglow. He is remembered not only as the nemesis of Percy and the friend of Scott but as the painstaking, rather literal editor and commentator. Pinkerton treated old ballads with a familiarity that verged on levity. Ritson treated them with a veneration almost idolatrous. The difference lay to a great degree in varying ideas about what ballads were, the marks by which they might be identified, the importance of their being properly identified at all.

Much water has flowed beneath the bridges of criticism since that time. Questions have arisen with regard to ballads of which eighteenth-century disputants scarcely dreamed. Amid all fluctuations of opinion, however, one problem has remained in the foreground with collectors, editors, and critics from Bishop Percy down to the most recent neophyte: What is a ballad? How is it to be defined? How recognized? In the course of some two or three hundred years since popular poetry first began to receive noticeable attention from literary men, much has been done to provide answers or partial answers to these insistent queries. A vast aggregation of texts has been collected from the four corners of the earth, particularly from those countries in Europe in which written books, works by known authors, have for centuries offered themselves for advantageous comparison with the nameless literature of tradition. Scores of editors and critics have addressed their energies to the task of explaining the ballad enigma in whole or in part. Scholars have done commendable work in separating the chaff from the wheat, in distinguishing what is really traditional from what is so only in appearance. And yet, there is no such thing as a canon of popular ballads, no nearly infallible means of setting a popular ballad apart from one that is not, just as there is no generally accepted definition of the popular ballad.

To the scoffer or to the devotee yearning after the scientific reduction of mysteries, all this may seem to be an admission of defeat. Yet it was in no spirit of default that Professor Child once wrote to William Macmath, "Ballads are not like plants or insects, to be classified to a hair's breadth." Child was pretty firmly convinced that the numbers in his great collection represented the popular balladry of England and Scotland. The traditional canon has been established for practical purposes to lie within the covers of such repositories as those of Child, of Grundtvig, of Liestøl and Moe, and of other generally accredited editors in various countries. Working definitions, implicit or explicit, will be found there too. For the purpose of this history, popular ballad may be taken to mean the sort of verse so named by Child, in whatever dialect it may happen to have been recorded.

Much of the difficulty in defining and segregating popular ballads inheres deeply in the nature of the subject. Anonymous poetry offers no very sound footing for the literary genealogist. It has been called masterless for good reason. The poets laureate of Robin Hood have gone the way of Gamelin. Robin Hood as a personage has retreated beyond the apparent reach of pursuit. No pious wanderer is likely to stumble on the ruinous peel of Sir Patrick Spens or to slake his thirst at the waters of Usher's Well. The time spirit has played his pranks not only with the ancient ballad-makers and the subjects of their verse, but as well with their modern historians. The rationalists of the eighteenth century, their romantic successors, the evolutionists, the psychologists, the ethnologists have in turn tried their Open Sesames. Each critical method has had its advantages and its drawbacks. Modern criticism as a result finds itself struggling with a tangled web of inherited opinions.

Some conception of the rise and fall of theory may be gained through an examination of the more important definitional terms, such as *ballad*, *popular*, *ancient*, *traditional*, and others. The general denomination *ballad* has had a long and rather complicated history, with both lyric and narrative associations. Though it is still used to designate lyrics of various kinds, its employment as a special name for the sort of verse we are here concerned with has become firmly established. Percy did not differentiate clearly between *ballad* and *song*. Motherwell and Child defined the ballad as a "narrative song." The narrative character of the popular ballad is now axiomatic. Brevity is a standard criterion; yet longer ballads have been preserved, like the Danish *Marsk Stig* and the English *Gest of Robin Hood*, in some cases apparently the result of a combination of several shorter ones. That national epics like the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Chanson de Roland* were the outcome of some similar process may be granted, but it is not to be assumed therefore that the constituent elements were ballads as we know them.[1] The word *song* in Child's definition finds its appropriateness in the vocal mode of transmission by means of airs integrally associated with the words. The chief lyrical quality of the ballads resides in the stanzaic structure and in the refrains.[2] Etymologically and historically ballads have been connected with the dance; the links are manifest in the Faroe traditions, less conspicuous but clearly visible in the Danish, hardly observable in the English and Scottish. In the case of dance and of refrain, indications of derivation point toward France. The ballad as we know it has a limited stanzaic and metrical range. These fixed forms can be traced back not much farther than the twelfth century. What the narrative songs of Charlemagne and of the Anglo-Saxons looked like is a matter for conjecture.

---

[1] See W. M. Hart's *Ballad and Epic* and innumerable works dealing with the Spanish ballads and with the various national epics.

[2] On the refrain, the dance, and related topics, see F. B. Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, 1907; J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, *The Medieval Popular Ballad* (English translation by E. G. Cox), 1914; and A. Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, 3d ed., 1925.

If the term *ballad* is widely accepted and pretty well understood, the same cannot be said for the limiting designation *popular*. A recognized distinction exists between the popular ballad and the non-popular, sometimes called the art ballad. To the non-popular category belong, for example, political ballads by known writers or by professional anonymous ballad-mongers, and avowed imitations of the ancient style by individual poets. Anonymity in itself is not a sufficient demarcation between the two great classes, although popular ballads are by definition anonymous and the non-popular for the most part are not. The critical differentiation lies rather between the individual poet on the one side and on the other a community which, if it does not actually make poetry in some concerted fashion, at least receives it and makes it over again in its own likeness. In the circumstance that every community, however homogeneous, must consist of individuals, that a poetic community must consist of poetic individuals, lies the crux which for more than a century has separated those who have believed that popular ballads, like other poems, are composed by individual men from those who have maintained that popular ballads, unlike other poems, were once composed by a whole people. In brief, the question has been whether these ballads are to be called popular because of a peculiar origin among the people or merely because, whatever their origin, they have been accepted by the people and have taken on certain peculiar features through a long course of oral transmission. With this question has necessarily been bound up another, Who and what are the people — what have they been — who have impressed upon large groups of ballads the stigmata of popularity?

A glance at the broader outlines of the history of criticism in this field will serve by way of orientation. Here we may look first at the development of the theory of group origins. A convenient point of departure is to be found in Herder's general philosophy, some of the roots of which have been traced in the writings of Rousseau and of British writers like John Brown and Robert Lowth; Herder's *Volkslieder* forms the principal nucleus. To Herder, folk-song implied variously the concepts of national song, of primitive song, of song existing under relatively primitive conditions among "folk" forming a part of a cultivated community. Whether in the origin or in the perpetuation of such song, the group is more important than the individual. Herder distinguishes between folk and rabble. So does Bürger, whose general position is much like that of Herder, but who finds it rather difficult to free his ideas of folk and folk-poetry from vagueness. His enthusiasm for popular literature paved the way for the romantics. With Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm the earlier, somewhat mysterious, views were elevated into the dignity of a cult. To both of the brothers there remained something sacred about the veiled origins of poetry, epic, myth, history. The poetry of art and the poetry of the folk are two different things; poets make the one, the people makes the other; popular poetry even makes itself.[1] In a modified form these views were shared by Uhland. Though later German and foreign critics opposed the romantic tenets of the Grimms, the doctrine of the creative faculties of the group, as distinguished from the isolated poet, has continued to have energetic adherents in Germany and elsewhere. Writers on aesthetics like Vischer and psychologists like Steinthal, Wundt, and Böckel have stressed the community as against the single poet. Latterly Joseph Pommer and his school have maintained the importance of the folk as a group. Homogeneity of thought and spirit has gradually come to be regarded as defining the folk in this sense, a homogeneity which originally was almost coextensive with the nation but which in the course of long periods of time has been, by insensible degrees, restricted to the unlettered.

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[1] For an early expression of these views on the part of Jakob Grimm, see his *Kleinere Schriften*, IV, 10, and note; some forty years later, in his oration on Lachmann, 1851, he speaks to much the same effect, *ibid.*, I, 155. For his middle period, cf. the review of Stephanovitch's *Servian Ballads*, *ibid.*, IV, 197 ff., 218 ff. A systematic statement by Wilhelm Grimm will be found in his essay, "Über die Entstehung der altdeutschen Poesie und ihr Verhältnis zu der nordischen" (1808), in his *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 92–170.

It is to be remembered that German theory for the most part has been occupied, not specifically with narrative folk-poetry, but with lyric as well, inasmuch as lyric traditions are relatively better represented in Germany than narrative. Nevertheless the views of German scholars and critics have a particular pertinence to the student of British and Northern popular ballads because German discussion has involved an inclusive survey of various kinds of popular verse and has often specifically dealt with English, Scottish, and Scandinavian ballads. And German opinion has exerted since Herder's day not a little influence on British, Scandinavian, and American scholars who have occupied themselves with similar enquiries.

F. B. Gummere's theory of communal origins may be regarded as an offshoot of mainly German views of communal responsibility for popular poetry, as an adaptation of more general considerations to the particular case of the ballads, as a serious and vigorous attempt to rationalize and to document the mystery of the Grimms. Gummere found the earlier fundamentals of the ballads in their lyrical, choral constituents, the refrains and the elements most related to the refrains. The mode of origin he conceived to lie in communal dancing and singing, in which the individual was practically lost in the group; the narrative elements, at first relatively inchoate, gradually became more prominent, until the epic character outgrew the lyric. In constructing his system of communal origins, Gummere worked backward by a logical procedure through an analysis of the structure and style of existing ballads; forward by a chronological procedure through the study of communal elements in older, historically documented verse forms; forward and backward by an analogical procedure through the examination of anthropological data of more or less primitive quality. A serious gap in the chain of evidence, recognized by Gummere and by others who lean toward the communal side, occurs at the point where the ballads as we know them are lost to historic cognizance in the Middle Ages. Gummere believed that indications drawn from existing ballads and from other sources provided a means, admittedly crude and tentative, of bridging that gap. For the ballads, he came to the conclusion that they are "communal, because they spring from the community in their choral origins and appeal to it in their traditional career."[1] For poetic beginnings in general, he held that "poetry in its larger sense is not a natural impulse of man simply as man. His rhythmic and kindred instincts, latent in the solitary state, found free play only under communal conditions, and as powerful factors in the making of society."[2] There may be some question whether much of Gummere's argumentation for ballad origins is not rather applicable to the wider problem of poetic origins. However that may be, the communal position has been materially strengthened by the adherence of men like Professor Kittredge[3] and Andrew Lang.[4] In view of misapprehensions on the part of several writers who have opposed the communal school, it should be noted here that both Professor Gummere and Professor Kittredge explicitly dissociate communal composition from the extant ballads, except as regards the recomposition of ballads that have once been delivered over to tradition. The communalists as a body are concerned with conditions antedating the oldest of the texts that happen to have been preserved and recorded. Professor Kittredge allows liberal scope to the individual poet even in the earlier phases of the communal process. So does Lang.

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[1] *The Popular Ballad* (1907), pp. 331–332.

[2] *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 473.

[3] The Introduction to the one-volume edition of Child's *Ballads*, edited by Helen Child Sargent and George Lyman Kittredge.

[4] Andrew Lang closes a review of the Sargent–Kittredge volume with the following words: "Mr. Kittredge's theory of ballad origins is one with which I so heartily sympathise that an opponent might be a more useful critic," *Folk-Lore*, XVI, No. 2 (June, 1905), 238–240. Cf. Lang's rejoinder to Mr. T. F. Henderson, in "Notes on Ballad Origins," *ibid.*, XIV, No. 2 (June, 1903), 147–161. For other references to Lang, see the Bibliography.

The claims of the one as against the many have had active champions ever since the question became a subject for controversy. In Germany the fortunes of battle have wavered to and fro during more than a century. Although A. W. Schlegel, in his classic essay on the poetry of Bürger (1800), said that the authors of ballads were "*in a certain sense* the folk as a whole,"[1] when he came to review the *Altdeutsche Wälder* (1813) of the Grimms, he maintained that "legend and popular poetry were always the common possession of certain periods and peoples, but not their common production."[2] Talvj, in her *Charakteristik* (1840), rejects the notion of gregarious authorship. Erlach and Hoffmann von Fallersleben bring into the discussion definitely the so-called *volkstümliches Lied*, the song by a relatively recent individual author which has been received by the people and thus has taken on a popular character which it did not originally possess; this concept of what may be styled the *popularesque* in distinction from the popular by origin has since been an important feature of German theoretical opinion. Ferdinand Wolf, in his Introduction to Rosa Warrens's *Schwedische Volkslieder der Vorzeit* (1857) rejects the nebulous poetic aggregate, the folk; to him folk-poetry is indeed different from the poetry of art, but the difference lies not so much in origins as in later traditional processes. W. Scherer insisted that the mark of popularity is to be found only in reception and transmission among the people. The collector Böhme was somewhat indefinite but tended toward the view that the recipient people counted for more than the first author. In more recent times John Meier and his school take the individual poet pretty much for granted and define popularity, not according to origins, but according to reception, transmission, sovereign possession by the people. Meier's *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde* (1906) indicates the point of view in the very wording of the title. J. W. Bruinier reckons with an individual author in the first place.[1] Paul Levy, who has made a careful study of the history of German theory,[2] states that the receptionists, during the last half-century or so, have been more numerous in Germany than those who define popularity by origins. Levy makes a useful generalization to the effect that in the earlier periods, German discussion revolved about folk-poetry as a whole and sought to identify it with a composite folk; in later periods the tendency has been toward the study of individual folk-songs, with concomitant stress on the individual poet.

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[1] *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Böcking, VIII, 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, XII, 385–386.

Among the Scandinavians the term *popular* and its correlatives have had an important place in the nineteenth century and after. The designation *folkevise* or its equivalent, in spite of the use of substitutes like *vise*, *kæmpevise*, *fornsång*, has been fairly constant throughout the period, increasingly so since the time of Grundtvig. Geijer, in his Introduction to the collection of Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska Folkvisor* (1814–16) derives folk-poetry from a period when only the nation had individuality, "when a whole people sang as one man." Nyerup, in his Postscript to Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek's *Udvalgte danske Viser* (1812–14), disclaims knowledge of whether this anonymous verse came from monks, from knights, or from courtiers. Grundtvig's ideas of origins were at first rather vaguely mystical, but leaned toward individual rather than folk origins as time went on. Later Scandinavian authorities have in general been disposed to avoid the question of ultimate origins and to confine themselves pretty strictly to historically ascertainable data and to posit individual rather than communal authorship. Dr. Ernst von der Recke has even placed himself on record as deploring the broad democratic assumptions inherent in the designation *folkevise* (*popular ballad*).[1]

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[1] *Das deutsche Volkslied* (6th ed., 1921), p. 27.

[2] "Geschichte des Begriffes Volkslied," in *Acta Germanica*, VII (1911), Pt. 3, 290–492 See also Gummere's Introduction to his *Old English Ballads*, which deals with German and other theories.

In England and Scotland theorizing has had a relatively small place in the entire history of the movement. The dispute between Percy and Ritson as to the functions of the minstrel did not involve the question of individual authorship as against group authorship but the question whether minstrels composed ballads or not. Scott, who found little cause for quarrel between Ritson and Percy, himself thought of the ballads as deriving from individual poets, whether he called them bards or minstrels or ballad-makers. Although Ritson and Jamieson, among the earlier collectors, made use of the term *popular* in the titles of ballad books, that term is seldom found in the titles of the more important collections of the nineteenth century. To the English and Scottish collectors and critics as a body, popularity was rather a matter of tradition among the common people than anything more recondite. Shepherds, pipers, minstrels, ladies Wardlaw have figured largely in the discussion, but rather in their solitary capacities than in groups. Not long ago Professor Courthope sought to reconstitute the minstrels as balladists *par excellence*.[2] And Mr. T. F. Henderson has given no quarter to the communal school.[3] On the American side, Miss Louise

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[1] Cf. the note on p. 198. The younger Kristian Elster, discussing the Norwegian ballads in his history of Norwegian literature, says, "The folk ballad, like all other literature, is the creation of an individual poet. . . . There is in reality nothing popular about it." *Illustreret norsk Litteraturhistorie*, I, 158 ff.

[2] *History of English Poetry*, vol. I, chap. 11.

[3] *Scottish Vernacular Literature* (3d ed., 1910), chap. 11; *The Ballad in Literature*.

Pound has made an energetic assault on the ramparts of the homogeneous festal throng.[1]

Professor Child himself, from whom a conclusive judgment was long awaited by scholars, left only an expressly tentative declaration on the subject, which I find summarized in the following words: "Though they [popular ballads] do not 'write themselves,' as William Grimm has said, though a man and not a people has composed them, still the author counts for nothing, and it is not by mere accident, but with the best reason, that they have come down to us anonymous."[2] Child may have agreed with Gaston Paris that collectors in general should abstain from historical exposition,[3] although few have been better fitted for such a work than Child himself, who possessed the wide knowledge of languages and of comparative methodology demanded by the great French savant. The value of Child's services lies rather in his collection itself and in the particular studies to the several numbers in it than in generalization on the material as a whole.

No science can advance without the courageous exploitation of hypotheses. The time has not yet come for dogmatic generalization on the meaning, or meanings, of the term *popular* as applied to ballads. The data, in their collected array, stubbornly refuse to be circumscribed within any one of the existing theories. It is quite conceivable that, if we were able to look backward from about the year A.D. 1200, we should find the ballad form, in its larger stanzaic and metrical features, coming from one direction; and the ballad substance, the story contents, coming from various directions, borne by various technical vehicles. It is further thinkable, in that event, that the form may have been mainly nonpopular; and that the substance may have been mainly popular. The result would be a medieval marriage of Walter and Griselda, of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet, unions of a kind celebrated in many a ballad. If this misalliance theory is tenable, the simple evolutionary curve erected by the communal school would have to be abandoned as too symmetrical to fit the facts. Scholarly investigation would have to deal accordingly with the ballad form on the one hand, and with each separate ballad story on the other hand in seeking to determine more accurately what we now think of as origins. In other words, ballad origins would be found to have been plural and complex. It is little likely that ballads as we know them could be traced to anything like a common ancestry. It is to be suspected that popular and non-popular elements have been strangely intermingled during the whole period of ballad history, that the hand of the one and the voice of the many have borne conflicting testimony for so long a time that they must continue to betray our blindness for some time to come.

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[1] *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*, 1921; "The Term Communal," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXIX, No. 2 (June, 1924), 440–454.

[2] Child's article on "Ballad Poetry," in the *Universal Cyclopædia*.

[3] "De l'étude de la poésie populaire en France," in *Mélusine* (1878), I, 2–6; this article is a reprint in part of a review which first appeared in *La revue critique*, May 22, 1866.

The designations *old* and *ancient* are necessarily bound up with the question of origins; in so far, problems connected with the time limits of the ballad have already been touched. The most varied opinions have been held on this subject. The ballad has been supposed to go back to immemorial antiquity, to common Aryan foundations, to Gothic or widely Germanic beginnings, to a relatively narrow European focus in the Middle Ages. The scholars who lean toward the group theory of origins have been inclined to presume a greater antiquity, in order to arrive at the requisite social homogeneity, than have those to whom individual authorship is the normal condition. The Grimms, for example, liked to think of remote periods when the *deutsch* (Germanic) race possessed in common those narrative ballads which have been preserved so remarkably in Denmark and Britain and which have perished, as they believed, so remarkably in Germany. Grundtvig, in his earlier years somewhat extravagant, later brought the ballads within definite historical purview at the eleventh or twelfth century. Later Scandinavian scholars have been quite cautious; Professor Steenstrup demands proof that Danish ballads can be traced as far back as the twelfth century.[1] English and Scottish criticism has shown some interesting vagaries, but in general has occupied conservative ground. Child placed the primitive ancestors of our ballads in a past beyond clear historical perspective; the pieces in his own collection he did not carry back farther than the thirteenth century. The distinction between the assumed ancestral form and the actually recorded texts is vital, and has been recognized as such by all modern scholars of decent pretensions. The order in which ballads have made their appearance in manuscript, in printed book, or in oral currency is of course not conclusive as to their actual antiquity. Many ballads provide an impassable backward barrier in their relation to the historic events they celebrate. Most ballads do not. Not the contents, but the form; not the story motives, but the stanzaic and metrical structure must determine the age of the ballad. From this point of view, the ballad as such may be allowed to be as old as the oldest single poems in the now familiar stanzas and metres, as old as the medieval technical vehicle in which they have notoriously come down to us. Nothing can be lost by denying the name of *ballad* to anything that does not bear the ballad birthmarks. The narrative songs of Charlemagne probably were not ballads; they may have become ballads.

Versions of some of the Child ballads have been discovered in oral currency within very recent years. Collectors like Gavin Greig in Buchan and E. T. Kristensen in Jutland have made it clear that the recitation, if not the composition or re-composition, of ballads in the old style and under old conditions has survived well into the nineteen-hundreds. The preservation of such poetry in the memories of the people and its transmission by word of mouth from one person to another and from one generation to another are the patent circumstances which have fixed upon it the title *traditional.* The existence of popular ballads in tradition has been common knowledge to collectors and editors since the appearance of the first printed books of ballads. Just how the courtly ladies of Denmark acquired the pieces recorded in the old manuscripts, just whence came the entries in the *Percy Folio Manuscript* and in manuscripts much more ancient, we do not know; yet tradition remains the obvious source in most cases. As we creep the backward pace through the centuries, though the evidence becomes less conspicuous, the probabilities still point to the same explanation as far into the past as single ballads can be traced. And that tradition has been mainly oral. Wherever the penman or the printer stepped in, literary tradition must be allowed its influence; it is well known that Peder Syv's Danish ballads passed from print into renewed oral currency. The same thing no doubt happened in many cases that cannot now be demonstrated. In spite of these bookish perturbations of the current, the stream of oral transmission is generally agreed to have taken its rise at an early period and to have maintained its flow, in some places to the present day. Oral tradition accounts for the development of numerous versions of the same ballad and provides the sufficient justification for preserving the several versions. Good or bad, made or marred in transmission, the versions are themselves the ballads. Archetypes are not to be found, nor can they be critically reconstructed with any assurance. However and whenever the ballad form originated and single ballads came into successive being, oral tradition has been their element.

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[1] *The Medieval Popular Ballad,* in E. G. Cox's translation (1914), p. 255.

The great effect of the oral transmission of ballads has been the preservation of a poetic structure and style which by purely literary use would hardly have persisted so long or developed such marked peculiarities; the preservation of the story contents too has been facilitated by the simplicity of the vehicle. In many countries, particularly in Britain and the Scandinavian speech-domains, but also in Germany, France, and elsewhere, ballads of the traditional sort have survived long enough to be permanently captured in books. The main features of structure are identical in the various lands; the narrative content is much the same; actual parallels often occur, of which notable instances have frequently been pointed out by editors. Borrowing between nations will account for some of the technical and material community, but not for all. The ballad form probably derives from one country, and many indications point to France. Ballad stories, on the other hand, and ballad themes are no doubt of many derivations, local, national, European, Indo-European, to go no farther afield. The earlier ballad migrations are involved in an obscurity which scholars have not been able to penetrate to such a degree as to enlist common assent. There is, however, substantial agreement that popular ballads, taken in the mass without distinction of nationality, constitute a unified body of data. The quantity of texts that have been preserved varies for different countries; certain nations possess more ballads of a particular kind than do others — Denmark, for example, has many mythical and heroic ballads, while Britain has few; less noteworthy formal distinctions separate the ballads of one land from those of another. Although for historical and critical purposes these national variations are not to be ignored, students are pretty much at one in giving a special name to the polyglot popular ballad and in singling it out from lyric and other narrative *genres* as a separate *type* of literature, however the boundaries of the type may hereafter be expanded or contracted, however the type itself may be further defined.

I have been asked whether people are still interested in ballads. It is not for me to answer such a question except perhaps by the paradox that people are not interested in orphans, or in sonnets, or in old Dutch masters. The query, I believe, is dictated by the supposition that the ballad era is past and gone. Ever since the days of Bishop Percy the hue and cry has been raised repeatedly that popular traditions must be rescued now if at all, that the last old wise woman is about to carry into the grave the few surviving remnants of traditional song and story. And yet hardened enthusiasts are still scouring hill and dale and coming home not quite empty-handed. The stream of traditional balladry of the old type may nevertheless be admitted to be on the verge of sinking into the sand, like the desert watercourses of our western states. Other forms of narrative verse have to some extent taken the vacant room, and may continue to do so, since tradition, if not too much molested, is fond of going its own gait.

The query is based on the further assumption that we know a great deal about the ballads, that little remains to be learned. A greater misapprehension of the facts could hardly be imagined. Collectors, editors, commentators, scholars as a body have indeed immensely widened our knowledge. Bishop Percy was a tyro as compared with a reasonably well-informed student of today. Yet sweeping conclusions are even now hardly warranted. Many special studies must still be undertaken in order to test the older generalizations and possibly to erect new ones. The hesitant investigator may take heart in the conviction that though the sheaves have been pretty carefully gleaned from the fields, the threshing is only well begun.

Some of the problems still awaiting solution may be indicated by means of glancing once more at our current terminology and its implications. In easy fashion we speak of ballads as *traditional*; but we do not know very accurately just how tradition operates. The older collectors were often inclined to be contemptuous of modern oral tradition, yet it is only by an exhaustive study of more recent tradition that the laws of the process may be sufficiently observed to be applied to progressively more ancient similar phenomena. Within the last century or so pains have been taken, as they were not before, to record the name, the age, the residence, the external mode of life of ballad reciters. These data must be minutely studied and be formulated with all possible precision in order profitably to trace oral survivals through the darker backward abysms of time.

We glibly pronounce ballads to be *old*, *ancient*. Do we mean thereby that a ballad is old as an oak is old that has stood rooted to the same spot for five hundred years, or as a greensward is old upon which the grass is annually renewed? It is a commonplace that the true age of a ballad is not determined by the accident of its being first recorded in the fourteenth century or in the seventeenth. The problem is not quite so simple. *Robyn and Gandeleyn* is of record from about the year 1450; the *A* version of *Lord Randal*, from about the year 1800; no one supposes that the relative ages of the two are thereby settled. The antiquity of other versions must be taken into account in cases where more than one version is extant. If the two examples belong to different ballad classes, the antiquity of the classes must be inquired into. If one of them has a close parallel of undoubted primitiveness in some foreign tongue, that circumstance becomes momentous. The length of time since a ballad came into existence is one phase of the enquiry; the relative longevity of two ballads that presumably began the race together but of which one apparently died long before the other, is another phase. Was death due to fell mischance in the one case and to senility in the other? Ambitious ballad actuaries have their work cut out for them.

We call ballads *popular*, with a certain reserve. The difficulties inherent in this designation have already been broached. German scholars, who have given earnest attention to the matter for a century and a half, are still somewhat at loggerheads over the definition of their *Volkslied*. Yet their numerous discussions have furthered the cause materially. Similar gains are possible for the ballads. The actual relation of the ballads to what we think of as the folk must be studied in detail. For the more modern periods, the association of ballads principally with the uneducated masses is clear enough, though educated people like Mrs. Brown of

Falkland are definitely to be reckoned with. As we go back in time, the evidence still points strongly to unlettered bearers of poetic tradition, but the entire situation is nevertheless susceptible of renewed analysis. How many of the whole number of versions in Child's collection can be followed, through the hands of the recording intermediary, to an authenticated derivation in folk tradition? Many of the Danish ballads, as is well known, go back to feminine intermediaries among the gentry, and, in the opinion of Grundtvig and others, to an aristocratic tradition. The interference of learned people with the course of ballad descent, the possible composition of ballads by such authors and the subsequent absorption of the product by the illiterate, the putative existence of a popularesque (*volkstümlich*) element in English and Scottish balladry, all this sort of thing requires painstaking investigation.

That ballads are *narrative songs* is generally agreed. Even in this field of enquiry much is still to be done. Can the loss of the refrains in most of the English and Scottish ballads be accounted for, in view of their more constant survival in the Danish? Is the lyric element more pronounced in the earlier ballads of all countries than in the later? There was a tendency among older English and Scottish editors to confuse ballad and song; in the interest of learning, they should be brought again into closer juxtaposition. Popular lyric ought to be more adequately studied for its own sake and for the light that might thus be thrown on the history of popular ballad; Robert Burns and his traditional environment would provide an excellent focus for research of this kind. Ballad music wants its true historian. Here also, as in the case of lyric and ballad, separate examination and juxtaposition are equally desirable; ballad airs are not songs without words. Cecil Sharp knew that well; men with his gifts and his industry could find ample scope for their talents.

To look at the possibilities from a different angle. There is room for numerous technical studies of ballad language, ballad style, ballad measures, ballad structures. As for the contents, profitable excursions could be made in the investigation of motives, of themes, of story groups, of wide reaches of myth, of history, of romance. Single ballads, classes of ballads, offer many teasing puzzles. Geographical distribution, local, provincial, national, international, demands explication. The vast areas of general folklore on the one hand, and the immeasurable ranges of polite literature on the other hand, both hem in and contain the popular ballad. Collectors of ballads in many lands have brought together so huge an aggregate of texts and of collateral material that only a man of heroic proportions could be expected to read the whole array of riddles into a semblance of unity. What is needed, therefore, in the existing state of the case, is a multitude of special enquiries in relatively limited fields, following as a rule a path of investigation from the present known toward the past unknown. If a sufficient number of people can be found who are still interested in ballads to pursue these devious tracks of detail, in a future not too distant some Lord Bacon may arise who will be able to provide a conspectus of ballad learning more satisfactory than it is now practicable to attain.

It has not been my purpose to assign all of the possible and impossible labors of Hercules. Many of the suggested terrains have already been in part capably explored by scholars of whose work an account may be expected in the following pages. It has been my purpose in calling attention to some of the tasks that remain undone, to emphasize the point of view from which this story of the ballads is written. To my way of thinking, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as the eighteenth, in spite of much valuable exposition from many hands, are to be regarded mainly as a collectors' era. Child and Grundtvig both counted themselves collectors more than anything else. If such a nomination be allowed in the case of men like these, what must be said, pray, of Jamieson, of Buchan, of all the lesser peripatetics! At all events, these chapters are for the most part devoted to men who collected ballads and put them into books.

CHAPTER II

SIR WALTER SCOTT

And have they taen him Kinmont Willie,
Against the truce of Border tide,
And forgotten that the bauld Bacleuch
Is keeper here on the Scottish side?
The ballad of *Kinmont Willie.*

WALTER SCOTT'S interests in the popular ballad are closely bound up with the interests of his predecessors in the eighteenth century. Whether we study his work as a collector, as an editor, as a translator, as an imitator, or as an original writer, we find that other men had gone before him. Antiquarians, critics, men of letters of all sorts and degrees had lent their efforts, not always harmoniously, to lift the ballad from obscurity at the beginning of the century to a secure place of honor as the century drew to its close. Collectors and editors like Percy, Herd, and Ritson had drawn together and published a large number of texts. Critics like Addison and Gray had spoken with tolerance and even enthusiasm of the foundling poetry of the people. Curious antiquaries, dusting about on errands of their own, had stumbled upon odds and ends of learned lumber that proved to be useful in building up the historical and literary backgrounds without which the ballad could not have been understood. Shakespearean scholars like Johnson and Farmer, literary historians like Warton, Chaucerians of the stature of Tyrwhitt had discovered that ballads were, if nothing more, at all events little foot-pages in the service of the noblemen of English letters. Percy, Goldsmith, and Chatterton had attempted poetical imitations long before Coleridge began to brood over the *Ancient Mariner.* Translation, poetic and dramatic adaptation, almost all the possible modes of literary treatment of ballad materials had been tried. By the time Scott was ready to turn his prentice hand, occupation with popular literature had long been a gentle craft.

In the course of the eighteenth century two diverging tendencies had gradually manifested themselves among English ballad editors and critics. Percy may be taken to represent the one point of view, and Ritson the other. To Percy, ballads were rude survivals of the past, deserving of a certain amount of attention as illustrating the language, the numbers, the beliefs and customs of bygone times, although as poetry they had no great intrinsic value. This view determined his editorial treatment of the materials for the *Reliques*, a treatment that consisted briefly in altering and improving his texts so as to make them in his judgment fit for the perusal of cultivated readers. Ritson held quite another opinion and followed a different procedure. Though he had little notion of the tremendous linguistic, historical, and mythical significance that the brothers Grimm were later to attach to the popular traditions of Germany and of other countries that came under their constantly widening purview, Ritson looked upon the text that had come down in some printed form, in manuscript, or in oral tradition as in a dual sense the received text, which was not to be tampered with according to the whims or the ideal prepossessions of an editor. He stood for the letter of the law and had small patience with any other attitude. The recriminations of Ritson against Percy regarding the *Folio Manuscript* were still ringing in the ears of the nation as Scott summoned his resources for his great task. Although Scott, sketching the work of his predecessors in the *Remarks on Popular Poetry*, made some concessions to the Ritsonian principles, there is ample evidence here and elsewhere that he recognized the venerable bishop as his master. Ritson had little more than painstaking scholarship to recommend him; Percy had an established reputation as a gentleman of taste and polite accomplishment.[1] Scott entered upon the service of literature from gentlemanly predilection, as an amateur in the best sense of the word.

The story of Scott's earliest enthusiasm for Percy's *Reliques* and his repeated raids into Liddesdale in search of oral traditions may be read in his *Autobiography* and in Lockhart's *Life*. In point of time these activities precede his work as a translator; but since the translations from the German mark his first public appearance as an author, they may be discussed at the outset, particularly as they serve to illustrate his attitude toward the whole subject. Scott himself has related the circumstances leading to his emulation of M. G. Lewis and his undertaking to turn Bürger's *Lenore* into English after learning of the sensation created by Miss Aikin's reading of William Taylor's version at a private house in Edinburgh. He has told how he secured a copy of the German poet's works in the original and how he spent a night in translating *Lenore* and later made translations of other pieces from Bürger, notably *The Wild Huntsmen*. It was these two ballads with which Scott first invited general favor in the publication of *The Chase, and William and Helen* at Edinburgh in 1796.

This quarto, from the press of Mundell and Son, contains only the two poems. An introductory note informs the reader that the general popularity of poetry of this type may be taken as a sufficient recommendation; further, that the translator's use of two lines from the version of another writer is to be understood as a recognition of the merits of the lines in question, for the borrowing of which a public acknowledgment is here made. The lines specified by Scott, for which he confesses his indebtedness to Taylor, read

Tramp! tramp! along the land they rode;
Splash! splash! along the sea.

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[1] For Scott's views, at different periods of his life, of the comparative merits of Percy and Ritson, see his joint review of Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* and of Ritson's *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, published in *The Edinburgh Review* for 1806; and his similar comparison in his *Essay on Romance*, published in 1824.

Taylor's translation was published later in the same year, in *The Monthly Magazine.*[1]

In the introductory note the translator makes the significant statement that "in these translations, which were written before any other was published, he was more anxious to convey the general effect than to adhere very closely to the language or arrangement of the original poems." A comparison of his *William and Helen* with Bürger's poem reveals a considerable freedom in the rendering. Scott not only changes the time and place of the warfare in which the hero was engaged; he alters the stanza and numerous details of the ballad. Yet he achieves a degree of success, though a modern reader would no doubt find the German poem much the better of the two. In spite of Scott's long acquaintance with popular verse, his verses have a diction and general style accommodated to the requirements of polite versification. He has recorded his admiration of the imitative harmony of the German poet's language, and he has tried to carry over into his English lines the resounding qualities that are so distinctive a mark of the original. The two lines quoted above are the most conspicuous instances, but not the only ones. A. W. Schlegel, in his admirable criticism of the ballads of Bürger (1800), insists that the poet lost the popular quality by his onomatopœic *Sing und Sang*, *Kling und Klang*; that, in short, he exaggerated certain rhetorical effects which in moderation belong to the true ballad. Scott in this respect was an apt pupil; he too had his "song and clang," his "clang and song." These peculiarities have a value as touchstones in judging unavowed imitations by Scott which have proved troublesome to many critics besides Child and Andrew Lang. *The Chase* and *William and Helen* were included, with slight verbal changes, in *An Apology for Tales of Terror* (1799), together with similar poems by Lewis and Southey, only one of which is assigned to an author by name, Southey's *Poor Mary*. This little collection, the first book from the Ballantyne press, was launched by Scott in the tedious interim of waiting for the preparation of Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*, a work which originally was to have been entitled *Tales of Terror*. The hazard of bibliographical fortunes attending an anonymous book that actually was published under the title of *Tales of Terror* in the same year as the *Tales of Wonder* (1801) will be more fully discussed in another connection.

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[1] March, 1796. The poem, entitled here "Lenora. A ballad, from Bürger," is unsigned but preceded by the following note: "The following translation (made some years since) of a celebrated piece, of which other versions have appeared, and are now on the point of appearing, possesses so much peculiar and intrinsic merit, that we are truly happy in being permitted to present it to our readers." At the end of the poem there is a note referring to an article on Bürger, anonymous but written by Taylor, in the same magazine.

Scott and Lewis had gone about their project of issuing a group of translations and imitations with high hopes, which turned out to be not altogether well founded. The first edition of the *Tales of Wonder*, driven out, as Scott puts it, into two volumes, contains contributions from Scott, Lewis, Leyden, Southey, and others. Among the contents were translations and adaptations from the German, from Danish ballads, and from various Norse pieces; some numbers from the *Reliques* and some ballad versions of unassigned origin;[1] and finally, ballad imitations. Scott's *The Chase* appears again under the title of *The Wild Huntsmen*. His translation of *Lenore* gives place to Taylor's, by way of reparation for Scott's earlier stealing of Taylor's thunder. Scott supplied, in addition, the original numbers called *The Fire-King*, *Glenfinlas*, *The Eve of Saint John*, and a translation from Goethe, under the title of *Frederick and Alice*. Of these James Ballantyne had already privately printed *The Eve of Saint John* (1800).

In his *Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad* Scott says that *Glenfinlas* was supposed to be written in the vein of *Ossian* and that therefore he considered himself "liberated from imitating the antiquated language and rude rhythm of the Minstrel ballad,"[1] by which he may be understood to mean the popular ballad. His next venture, *The Eve of Saint John*, he refers to in the same connection as "another ballad"; here he has no intention of following the Erse manner. *Glenfinlas*, as Lewis and his friends found, is somewhat confused in plot and too smooth in metre. *The Eve of Saint John* has good narrative sequence, a rougher metre, and a simpler style. If we may take this poem, then, as representing the author's understanding of the ballad manner at this time, we shall discover certain stylistic peculiarities. The alternate rhymes of the four-line stanzas are as a rule exact enough to suit the rigid demands of Lewis. However, in many cases, when Scott is unable to provide end rhymes for the first and third lines, he introduces by way of compensation internal rhymes in these lines. Further to be noted is a fondness for pairing terms, such as "sad and sour," "close and still," "loud and shrill," "deep and dark," "stiff and stark." These features are all to be found in traditional ballads. Scott has correctly observed them in popular poetry, but has intensified them into mannerism in his own poetry.

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[1] On Lewis's source for *Willie's Ladye* and on his rewriting the ballad of *King Henry* as *Courteous King Jamie* for the *Tales of Wonder*, see Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (*E.S.P.B.*), I, 82, 297.

A particularly good illustration of Scott's imitative capacities is to be seen in his second and third parts to *Thomas the Rhymer* in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. The advantage here lies in the juxtaposition of imitations and a piece of mainly traditional poetry. Scott's first part of *Thomas the Rhymer* appears in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* as text *C*. Scott's second part is made up of verses by himself which serve as a narrative framework for supposed prophecies of the Rhymer drawn from a book published by Andro Hart in 1615. His third part is an original poem, based freely upon a tradition relating to the Rhymer's mysterious return to Elfland. If we may assume that Scott in the second and third parts is imitating the style of the traditional first part, we can say only that he was not successful. Consider these lines from the second stanza of Part Second:

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[1] Henderson's edition of the *Minstrelsy*, IV, 44.

> He heard the trampling of a steed;
> He saw the flash of armour flee,

and the whole second stanza of Part Third:

> Then all by bonny Coldingknow,
> Pitched pallions took their room;
> And crested helms, and spears a rowe,
> Glanced gaily thro' the broom.

There is one case of internal rhymes in Part First; and half a dozen in Part Third. Part First rhymes on the second and fourth lines of each stanza; Part Third has alternate rhyme throughout: *abab*. The entire style of Scott's original poem has a literary cast that is clearly different from that of the traditional poem. Scott's Part Third is a good narrative, in its mode of progress not unlike many popular ballads. Nevertheless, it is more like Scott's later original romances than like the ancient poetry he is here illustrating. If we had no other evidence, we should be safe in drawing the conclusion from a comparison of the three parts of *Thomas the Rhymer* that he could not possibly have written the whole of *Kinmont Willie*. It may be argued that in *Thomas the Rhymer* he was not attempting close imitation. The argument may be granted, and still it may be maintained that Scott so far has not demonstrated, whether in translations or avowed imitations, very dangerous powers of deception, at any rate to men like Child and Lang, whatever his contemporaries may have thought. Here we turn to his editing.

Later criticism has sometimes made it appear that Scott in his dealings with the traditional materials for the *Minstrelsy* was a sort of editorial Wife of Bath,

> Of cloth makying she hadde swych an haunt,
> She passed hem of Ypres and of Gaunt.

The better way would seem to be to begin by taking him at his word, and trying to discover how far his own statement of procedure agrees with ascertainable facts. Looking back from the year 1830, Scott says in his *Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad*, that it was his purpose "to imitate the plan and style of Bishop Percy, observing only more strict fidelity concerning my originals." In his other introductory essay of the same year, in the course of a sketch of his predecessors, he makes a more detailed comparison of the methods of Percy and of Ritson. In effect it amounts to this, that Percy was rather too free in his alterations, but that Ritson was too severe in his criticism of the bishop and himself inclined to defer too much to bad readings; that it is indeed desirable to have true readings of ancient poetry but that the "superstitious scrupulosity" of a Ritson tends to the conserving of much that is not worth conserving; that "the crime of literary imitation . . . does not exist without a corresponding charge of uttering the forged document, or causing it to be uttered, as genuine, without which the mere imitation is not culpable, at least not criminally so." All this may have the appearance of an apology by Scott for his own sins, long after the fact. Perhaps we should rather find in it a frank statement of what was Scott's creed not only in 1830 but in 1802.[1] Scott believed his methods to be like those of Percy, only rather better. We believe so today.

In the general Introduction to the *Minstrelsy* Scott lets it be known that he has drawn most of his materials from oral recitation but that he has been able to "supply and correct the deficiencies of his own copies" from Herd's MSS, from the Glenriddell MS, from Mrs. Brown's MS, and from other sources. His prefatory notes to individual numbers in the collection provide more explicit information as to his methods. In some cases, important among which is *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead*, he does not reveal his hand. In most cases he candidly avouches that his printed texts are the result of combinations of various sorts. *The Outlaw Murray* is a compound drawn from four different quarters: Mrs. Cockburn, Mr. Plummer, the Glenriddell MS, and Herd's MSS.[1] *The Battle of Otterbourne*, from Herd's *Scottish Songs and Ballads* (1776), "is now corrected from that publication, by a MS copy." For *Johnie of Breadislee* "there are several different copies. . . . The stanzas of greatest merit have been selected from each copy." *Jellon Grame* "is published from tradition, with some conjectural emendations. It is corrected by a copy in Mrs. Brown's MS, from which it differs in the concluding stanzas." *The Lass of Lochroyan*, "now first published in a perfect state . . . is composed of verses selected from three MS copies, and two from recitation. Two of the copies are in Herd's MS, the third in that of Mrs. Brown of Falkland." *Kempion* is given "chiefly from Mrs. Brown's MS, with corrections from a recited fragment." *Kinmont Willie*, the despair of many critics, "is preserved, by tradition, on the West Borders, but much mangled by reciters; so that some conjectural emendations have been absolutely necessary to render it intelligible." In some such terms as the above, the story runs for almost all of the pieces in the *Minstrelsy*. The exact words have been quoted in these illustrative cases to indicate the apparent candor with which the editor lays bare the secrets of his trade. It is difficult to doubt that Scott thought he was explicit enough. In the judgment of later scholars, he was not explicit at all. His corrections, his trifling alterations, his conjectural emendations were in fact nothing less than a magic carpet on which he soared away to regions where ballads may be seen, like *The Lass of Lochroyan*, "in a perfect state."

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[1] In a letter to Motherwell, dated May 3, 1825, Scott expresses a certain regret for having treated his texts so freely; see M'Conechy's edition of *The Poetical Works* of Motherwell, pp. xvii–xix. Cf. Svend Grundtvig's comments on this letter in his communication to F. J. Child, July 9, 1874.

It may be granted that the most severe and therefore the best touchstone for the value of Scott's texts is to be found in the fate that befell them in Child's *English and Scottish*

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[1] On Scott's use of the manuscripts of Herd, see Hans Hecht's *Songs from David Herd's MSS*, pp. 60–61.

Popular Ballads. By tracing the history of the individual numbers of the *Minstrelsy* in Child's definitive edition we shall come near to doing the Scottish editor what may be described as poetic justice. Such a course reveals the perhaps surprising fact that almost all of Scott's texts found recognition of some sort. Aside from avowed imitations, the pieces that were excluded were not ballads at all, or they were not traditional, or they bore the obvious marks of recent imitative handiwork. Some few of the others appear in Child's introductory notes or in an appendix. Many are accorded registration as variants, in which case the better example or examples of the same version from some other source will be printed. Others again are printed in full as versions worthy of permanency but not of a place in the first rank among the chosen. Still others, like the generally accepted text of *The Wife of Usher's Well*, are assigned the first station. Finally, *Kinmont Willie* reigns alone, though uneasily. Child often gives definite reasons for his treating such and such a text of Scott's with reserve. He has read Scott's explanation of the origin, for example, of *Fause Foodrage*, which states that the ballad "is chiefly given from Mrs. Brown of Falkland's MS." Child, on examining the original source, discovers that the editor of the *Minstrelsy* has made "not quite forty petty alterations," and consequently declines to print the altered copy. By a similar examination Child finds that Scott made considerable changes in *The Lochmaben Harper*, "to suit his taste." *Jellon Grame*, by the same token, differs from Mrs. Brown's text mainly in having "four stanzas of its own . . . not simply modernized, but modern." As to *Clerk Saunders*, Child declares that Scott's account of his "dealing with Herd's copies is very far from precisely accurate." Similar comments have to be made with regard to a large number of the texts from the *Minstrelsy*. It cannot be a matter for surprise, therefore, that when Child comes to *Jamie Telfer*, where at first he had only the one text, he says, it was "retouched for the *Border Minstrelsy*, nobody can say how much." Or that when he introduces *Kinmont Willie*, in a single text, he is compelled to declare that "a great deal more emendation was done than the mangling of reciters rendered absolutely necessary." Scott's case is hardly improved by the new numbers he added in successive editions of the *Minstrelsy*. Most of these Child rejects outright. An interesting exception is *The Demon Lover*, from the fifth edition, of 1812. The effect of Child's review of the *Minstrelsy* on the whole would seem to go far toward banishing the term "conjectural emendation," a favorite with both Percy and Scott, from the bright lexicon of ballad editors.

T. F. Henderson, in his edition of the *Minstrelsy* (1902), has taken the pains to run to earth many of the elusive corrections and emendations. His evidence, in the form of variant readings for the individual texts and of critical annotations of other sorts, has a cumulative effect which to a modern conscience takes on the appearance of a severe indictment of Scott's editorial practices. Not to mention weightier sins of omission and commission, the number of verbal alterations and refinements runs into startling totals, in some cases too numerous to be separately recorded. The later controversy between Colonel Elliot and Andrew Lang yields a precipitate not much different. Though these two critics find themselves in material disagreement as to the extent and as to the ethical bearing of Scott's textual manipulations, they agree in holding that he did not sufficiently account for his stewardship, that his editing was too often charged with the divine afflatus. In the notorious instances of *Kinmont Willie* and of *Auld Maitland*, Colonel Elliot believes that Scott composed the first wholly and that he entered into a kind of conspiracy of deception with regard to the second. Andrew Lang denies the charges, though he admits a relative culpability on Scott's part in these and in other cases.[1] Child accepted *Kinmont*

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[1] On this instructive debate, see FitzWilliam Elliot's *Trustworthiness of Border Ballads*, 1906; his *Further Essays on Border Ballads*, 1910; Andrew Lang's *Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy*, 1910; and his contributions to Farrer's *Literary Forgeries*, 1907.

Willie and rejected *Auld Maitland*, a decision which, if not conclusive, at least is indicative of the critical nicety of the entire problem of Scott's relation to his sources. Scott was certainly capable of being deceived by others; he may have been capable of a degree of self-deception; without question he frequently permitted the poet to usurp the functions of the editor. I prefer to believe, with Andrew Lang and many others, that he did not foist upon the public as traditional any ballad wholly of his own fabrication.

It would be an error to suppose that the value of the material in the *Minstrelsy* is to be judged solely upon the relative purity of the texts. Motherwell in 1827 listed by title forty-five ballads that had not appeared in print before Scott published them; even if Motherwell's count must be considerably modified through the later discovery of antecedent printed sources, his list remains an impressive testimony to the greatness of Scott's services in making his contemporaries acquainted with so large a body of poetry hitherto generally unknown. Add to this that Scott's enthusiasm fired a large circle of associates with a zeal for collecting in his behalf and that the fame of the *Minstrelsy* led to energetic searching by people outside of his immediate reach, and it must be clear that he is to be credited with large additions to the whole store of texts. After all deductions have been made for his tampering with the pieces he chose to prepare for the eyes of a critical world, the *Minstrelsy* as published contained genuine wares, much as he might have been surprised to see the riddled state of his pages had a severely conscientious modern editor been afforded an opportunity to delete his embellishments. The half loaf that is better than none would still have remained.

Nor is his account yet ready to be closed. Though Scott, as Lockhart tells us, continued throughout his life to make additions and corrections in his own copy of the Border *Minstrelsy* which were at length incorporated in the edition of 1833 from the hand of Lockhart himself, he left large stores unused. These consisted of collections recorded by Scott in his earlier and later years and contributions from a number of assistants, such as Leyden, James Hogg, Laidlaw, Skene, and many others. Securely locked in the treasure rooms at Abbotsford, most of this manuscript material waited a long time for release. Even after Scott had given liberally to later editors like Jamieson and Sharpe, much was left to be uncovered eventually by Child. We find the general description in the six numbered sections of the manuscript collection at Abbotsford noted by Child in his "Sources of the Texts." On going through, number by number, versions and variants of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, the extent and the value of what Scott laid aside unpublished discloses itself in an imposing panorama. Here are uncontaminated originals for the better part of the pieces in the *Minstrelsy*, and other versions of pieces published in that collection. Here are good texts for a number of ballads not represented in the *Minstrelsy*. From this source come the versions of *The Braes O Yarrow* lettered by Child *Ea*, *F*, *G*, *J*, *M*, *N*; the *C* and *D* versions of *Katharine Jaffray*; the *D* version of *Rob Roy*; nine versions of *Mary Hamilton*; versions of *Earl Brand*, *Thomas Rhymer*, *The Gay Goshawk*, and many more. Particularly the manuscript in the Abbotsford collection entitled "Scotch Ballads, Materials for Border Minstrelsy," contains a large number of good texts. Scott might have published, had he been so minded, another *Minstrelsy* as compendious as the first. His zeal as a collector may be allowed to outbalance his demerits as an editor.

As was the case with Percy, Scott was not content to send out into the world merely a collection of texts, shaped in literary fashion. Like his predecessor, he believed that the public might more willingly accept what he had to offer if he made use of plausible argument. To this feeling and to his already deep interest in all that had to do with earlier life on the Border, we owe his extensive Introduction to the *Minstrelsy* and the apparatus of notes attached to the separate ballads. His classification of the whole material, aside from the imitations, at once reveals an essentially true understanding of what he was about and incidentally foreshadows the two great fields in which his genius was to be occupied to the end: history and romance, separate or conjoined, as the case might be.

Somehow or other Scott picked up ideas on poetry and history very similar to those which were to develop into a mighty synthesis the entire work of the brothers Grimm. Scott begins his review of Ellis's and Ritson's works on the metrical romances with the statement, "The history, the laws, and even the religion of barbarous nations are usually expressed in verse." In the *Essay on Romance* he says: "We have said of Romance, that it first appears in the form of metrical history, professes to be a narrative of real facts, and is, indeed, nearly allied to such history as an early state of society affords." These statements both belong, it is true, to periods of the author's life subsequent to the publication of the *Minstrelsy*. And yet there would be no great injustice in making these generalizations a sort of groundwork for the critical opinions that lie scattered about among the introductions and annotations of that book.

There is no fault to find with his definition of the historical ballad as a type that "relates events, which we either know actually to have taken place, or which, at least, making due allowance for the exaggerations of poetical tradition, we may readily conceive to have had some foundation in history." It is especially for the purpose of providing an aid toward the understanding of the ballads of this class that he writes his spirited account of the Border barons and the lesser marchmen; and it should be noted that his view of history comprises not only battles and raids but manners and customs, religion and superstition. What he has to say about the character and the beliefs of the Borderers covers also the romantic ballads, which he defines as comprehending "such legends as are current upon the Border, relating to fictitious and marvellous adventures."[1] In this sense, all of the traditional material in the *Minstrelsy* is intended to illustrate what may be termed the history of civilization on the Border. To this extent Scott thinks of all of the ballads as historical, and at the same time makes the useful and on the whole appropriate distinction into the two classes just defined. Scott made some readjustments as between the two classes of ballads in later editions of the *Minstrelsy*. *Fair Helen of Kirconnell*, *Johnie of Breadislee*, and *The Duel of Wharton and Stewart*, which were at first listed as historical, later were put in the romantic group. And unfortunately, those sports of Surtees's fancy, *Lord Ewrie* and *The Death of Featherstonehaugh*[2] were in course of time added to the historical group. Scott made mistakes in classification, a department in which greater scholars than he find much debatable ground.

In the *Essay on Romance* we find a sort of chronological scheme of development of romantic fictions beginning with rude narrations or ballads, going on to poetical romances, thence to prose romances, and so down to the novel. Although Scott here uses the term *ballad* for the early forms, he illustrates his meaning by a reference to *The Battle of Brunanburgh*, and therefore the existence of what we know as ballads is not to be posited. In the prose of the *Minstrelsy* we discover no clearly marked theory as to the evolution of ballad. The editor does say that historical ballads "were early current upon the Border" and in this connection refers to Barbour's testimony in the *Bruce*. As for those collected in his own book, he declares that the earliest hardly goes back as far as James V; the statement remains unaltered in the edition of 1833. In 1802 he gives the greatest age to *The Sang of the Outlaw Murray*, "probably composed about the reign of James V." The next year when he publishes a version of

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[1] Compare Scott's set definition of romance in his *Essay on Romance*.

[2] On Surtees's ballad-making, see George Taylor's *Memoir of Robert Surtees*, new edition by James Raine, pp. 25, 30, 43, 237 ff. The volume contains many items of correspondence between Scott and Surtees on ballads, and examples of Surtees's more openly avowed ballad imitations.

Sir Patrick Spens, he is inclined to place it in the thirteenth century, although he does not positively make the ballad contemporaneous with the Maid of Norway. In somewhat guarded terms he assigns about the same antiquity to *Auld Maitland*. His tendency is to make the historical ballads coeval with the events they are assumed to relate to; as to the age of the romantic ballads he is rather noncommittal.

Scott explains ingenuously that he has refrained from giving a spurious antiquity to the pieces in his collection by changes in spelling and like devices. That he did not approve of this mode of superinducing patina is evinced further in his review of Gregory's edition of Chatterton a year or two later. While the same review shows that Scott had no very exact knowledge of the older phases of the language, it proves as well that neither he nor his contemporaries were likely to be taken in by crude manipulations of orthography. Scott understood pretty well the effect of long traditional processes on the style of popular poetry. He expressly agreed with Ritson in thinking that tradition is a kind of alchemy that turns gold into lead. Not that he believed in any archaic perfection in the Border muse; but he saw distinctly the rude evidences of the vicissitudes of oral transmission, the distortions of words and rhythms, the interruptions and abrupt dissolutions of the narrative, the unintentional or the willful interpolations of reciters. He did not so well understand the idiosyncracies of structure which have been studied with such care since his day and which have enabled later critics to detect Scott's own improvements. His remarks on technical phases hardly go further than to note the rudeness, simplicity, inelegance that had often been observed before.

No doubt he associated these qualities with the untutored condition of the pipers, shepherds, and aged persons among whom he believed the ballads to have been preserved and carried down through the years. Yet he is unwilling to attribute the authorship of the Border songs to these classes of people or specifically to any other class. It seems clear that he purposely avoided embroiling himself on a subject that had been so fertile in controversy. In his later life he seldom overlooked an opportunity to deplore the acrimony that had marked the protracted divisions between Percy and Ritson on the question of the poetic skill of the minstrels. In his Introduction to the *Minstrelsy* at any rate, he openly reserves opinion as to authorship of the ballads, in the following words: "Whether they were originally the composition of minstrels, professing the joint arts of poetry and music; or whether they were the occasional effusions of some self-taught bard; is a question into which I do not here mean to enquire." He does go so far as to say that the Border-raid ballads were originally composed in the mountains to which their fame has been generally confined. Once or twice he uses the term *minstrel*, as he uses the term *bard*, in the rather loose sense of ballad-maker, poet. He is not thinking, in these casual references, of the professional order of minstrels.

Many years afterward, in the *Essay on Romance*, the minstrels and their works are discussed at great length. While Scott here agrees in the main with Percy's view[1] that the minstrels not only recited poetry but often composed it, his remarks are pretty narrowly confined to what we still know as metrical romances. It is true that his definition of romance, as "a fictitious narrative in prose or verse; the interest of which turns upon marvelous and uncommon incidents," is broad enough to include his own ballads of the romantic class; yet in the whole course of the essay he distinguishes clearly between ballads and romances. The minstrels are associated with the romances. The exceptions make that fact all the more clear. Scott thinks, against Ritson, that the song sung by Taillefer at Hastings was a brief ballad rather than a longer romance. And in his account of the decay of the minstrel order, he refers to Richard

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[1] Percy's view as revised under the influence of Ritson's attacks. Scott, in the *Remarks on Popular Poetry*, quotes Percy's revised statement that the minstrels sang verses "composed by themselves *or others*," and explicitly approves the definition.

Sheale doubtfully as "the preserver at least, if not the author, of the celebrated heroic ballad of *Chevy Chace*." In neither case is there the least approach to a generalization on the minstrel authorship of ballads. Nor is such a thing suggested in his statement that in the reign of Elizabeth there remain only vestiges of former minstrel glory "in the habits of travelling ballad-singers and musicians." It might be wished that Scott in this essay had delivered himself more fully as to the relation between ballad and romance, especially since in his notes to the *Minstrelsy* he suggested matters of this sort that have been of great interest to later scholars. In a note to *Prince Robert* he points out the stanzas about the meeting of birk and brier over the graves of the lovers as a ballad commonplace probably derived from some old metrical romance; *Kempion*, he thinks to have been "an old metrical romance, degraded into a ballad, by the lapse of time and the corruption of reciters"; and in noting the similarity between *Lord Thomas and Fair Annie* and the Breton romance *Lay le Frain*, he makes the more comprehensive declaration that "the farther our researches are extended, the more we shall see ground to believe, that the romantic ballads of later times are, for the most part, abridgements of the ancient metrical romances, narrated in a smoother stanza and more modern language." Subsequent criticism has only in a measure accepted this view; but the importance of the question here so lightly touched by Scott may be seen in a century of discussion as to the nature of epic in general, as it relates to Homer, the *Nibelungenlied*, the Spanish ballads,[1] the *Kalevala*, and many other subjects of enquiry. In the *Essay on Romance* Scott makes a sharp distinction between epic and romance, and in his whole treatment presupposes and indeed expressly emphasizes the functions of the individual author. We need not look there, and much less in the *Minstrelsy*, for that doctrine of communal, "folk" authorship which during Scott's lifetime gained so powerful an ascendency in Germany. Scott probably knew very little about that theory and its implications.

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[1] A survey of theory regarding the Spanish ballads will be found in Professor S. G. Morley's "Spanish Ballad Problems," in the *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, XIII, No. 2 (1925), 207–228.

Scott was neither a philosopher nor a scholar as those terms were understood among some of his great German contemporaries. Yet he cherished broad antiquarian and historical sympathies, and he was from the first a man of letters. It is on such grounds that the *Minstrelsy* is best evaluated. If we read his historical introduction to the ballads from the later point of view of a Macaulay, we read it properly as a vivid account of an epoch distinguished for picturesque characters and stirring activities. We are willing to forego some niceties of fact. We do not enquire too narrowly into the clannish genealogy of Johnie Armstrong or Kinmont Willie. They fit into the broadly-drawn canvas of Border life, and that is enough. In the same way we are disposed to judge the array of notes which the industry and taste of the editor summoned from books and from living tradition to illustrate the individual ballads. Let it be that the trees upon which Johnie Armstrong and his retinue were hanged did not, as the country people above Hawick believed, actually wither away in protest; the story itself almost brings the rank reiver back to life. As for the Romantic ballads, no reader could fail to appreciate Leyden's essay "On the Fairies of Popular Superstition," prefixed to *The Tale of Tamlane*, in which the elfin hierarchy is seen to rule over many lands, Celtic and Norse and Romance. Even a severer critical taste might find something ingratiating in Scott's comparison between *Kempion* and Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*. The Scottish public would discover in the collection, with all its foreign adornments, a truly homebred book, whether in the native woodnotes of the poems themselves or in the zeal for clan and country with which the editor joined his amorous descant to the ruder voices of the Border minstrels.

Under date of October 14, 1803, Robert Anderson writes to

Percy that the third volume of the *Minstrelsy* has "neither added to the reputation of the editor nor increased the sale of the former volumes." [1] In a later letter Anderson, reporting a conversation with the publisher Longman relative to a proposed "new edition of the northern antiquities," explains that Longman, in answer to a suggestion from Leyden that Scott should be the editor, had stated that he would rather have the greater weight of Percy's reputation behind the book; that Anderson had concurred, and had even gone to the length of saying "that the 'Border Ballads' were not entitled to be placed on the same shelf with the *Reliques*." [2] Flattering as this opinion must have been to Percy, contemporary periodical critics did not share Anderson's views. The general effect of criticism in the magazines was precisely that of placing the two works on the same shelf. *The Critical Review* says of Scott's volumes: "They perform for Scotland that task which the Bishop of Dromore performed for England. . . . The Scottish reliques of Percy might have been advantageously included in this collection." With a kind of prevision the writer continues, in reference to the ballads as a whole: "Many of them will serve for the story of future ballads, and the decoration of yet unwritten metrical romances. They constitute the elements of British mythology." [3] *The Annual Review and History of Literature* in two separate reviews, one of the first two volumes and a later one of the second edition in three volumes, praises the collection in general; yet the reviewer deplores the superstitious elements, which might rather be consigned to oblivion; he thinks Ritson's text of *The Twa Corbies* better and more ancient than Scott's; he prefers the imitations to the original ballads, especially Scott's *Cadyow Castle*, which so overcomes his scruples as to the imitability of the ancient poems, that he exclaims: "What indeed can Mr Scott do better, after exhausting the patrimonial poetry of his ancestors, than seriously set about making new what he has talents to render so greatly superior to the old." [1] The same organ, in a later review of Scott's *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces* (1806), complains that so many of the imitations are drawn, not from the historical ballads but from the romantic, "lying legends" of a barbarian superstition.[2] And "Senex" writes an indignant letter to Mr. Urban, protesting at the immoral defense of assassination implied in *Cadyow Castle*.[3] *The Scots Magazine*, to return to reviews of the *Minstrelsy*, suggests that the editor should extend his search to English-speaking districts north and west of the Border.[4]

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[1] Nichols's *Illustrations*, VII, 121.

[2] Nichols's *Illustrations*, VII, 155.

[3] *Critical Review*, XXXIX (November, 1803), 250. As to British mythology, see Scott's remark, quoted by Gillies in his *Recollections of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 24, "I have always been disposed to put more faith in Scotch fairies than in the 'muses nine'; and, if there must be gods and goddesses, would upon the whole prefer to deal with Odin and Freyja, rather than Jupiter and Juno."

The most notable review was Jeffrey's in *The Edinburgh Review*. For purity of text, he praises Scott above Percy. On the general merits of the collection, he anticipates subsequent opinion in the comment, "It is no objection to these volumes to say, that the poetry is sometimes trivial, any more than it would be to remark that the historical facts are not always correct." He places a high value on the introductory matter and the notes but objects to the title; the word "minstrelsy" being to his view "not only inapplicable in its original sense, but rendered in some measure ludicrous by the currency it has obtained among our modern sonnetteers, or, as they style themselves, minstrels." The poetic merit of the ballads saves them from being harmful or offensive to national morality. As for imitations, "let the modern poet imitate, if he can, the excellencies and avoid the defects of the old ballad writers; but let him begin by adopting their strength of sentiment and energy of expressions; and let him take especial care to draw his ornamental additions from purer sources than the bonny Jeans, the Alonzos, and Imogenes of the day." Scott's and

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[1] *Annual Review*, I (1802), 635–643; II (1803), 533–538.

[2] *Annual Review*, V (1806), 494–497.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXVII (April, 1807), 312–313.

[4] *Scots Magazine*, LXIV (January, 1802), 68–70.

Leyden's imitations, to conclude, show imagination and poetic skill; but their general tone is not that of antiquity nor do they much resemble any one of the ancient ballads.[1]

Jeffrey would allow the modern poets to imitate, if they can. With this pronouncement it is interesting to compare an opinion of W. C. Grimm, as recorded in a review of Henriette Schubart's *Schottische Lieder und Balladen von Walter Scott* (1817). Scott, says the German critic, was adept in the style of folk-poetry; although he set out to edit the ballads, he permitted himself to insert tones and phrases, if not longer passages, into these splendid songs; "yet there is genuine matter enough, and, thank God, counterfeiting is not feasible; right translation is even less so." [2]

How different is Cunningham's judgment as we find it in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, published just after Scott's death. Ritson,[3] says Cunningham, could not possibly have edited the materials of the *Minstrelsy*; "none but a true and good poet like Scott was fit for it; — your right national ballad will bear a gentle polishing . . . I consider the 'Minstrelsy of the Border' to be a great national work, which will do for Scotland what Percy's 'Reliques' have done for England — keep a love of truth and nature living among us." [4]

Here again the national note rings out: England and Scotland, one with the other or one against the other. Out of the many later references to that concatenation only a single appropriate instance may be dealt with at this point. Some sixty years after the appearance of Scott's *Minstrelsy*, Swinburne was busied with preparations for a collection which was to bear the title *Ballads of the English Border* and which has recently been published under that designation. Scott's title, according to Swinburne's Preface, is "misleading and indeed mendacious." The Scottish editor is wrong in making the Tweed and not the Tyne the southern boundary of the ballad domain; he never could "shake off provincialism in dealing with a debateable question"; many of his ballads are as English as they are Scottish; English poems must not be flaunted before the face of Englishmen to show that the English cannot produce ballads; Scott, in effect, is himself a rank reiver. The further details of Swinburne's criticism and of his own ballad-making must be reserved for later discussion. At present we can only note the Englishman taking up the old battle-cry of the Percys against the northern invader.[1]

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[1] *Edinburgh Review*, I (January, 1803), 395–406.

[2] W. C. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, ed. G. Hinrichs (Berlin and Gütersloh, 1881–87), 4 vols., II, 208–210. Practically all of the numbers in the *Minstrelsy* were translated into German by Elise von Hohenhausen, Willibald Alexis, and W. von Ludemann in their *Balladen der Schottischen Grenzlande* (Zwickau, 1826–27), 7 vols.

[3] Ritson wrote to Scott, June 10, 1802, to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the *Minstrelsy*, "Everything is excellent throughout, both in verse and prose." See Ritson's *Letters*, ed. Nicolas (London, 1833), 2 vols., II, 223.

[4] Allan Cunningham, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 17.

Scott's *Minstrelsy*, be it Scottish or English or both, went through numerous editions in a few years; as late as 1813 Scott writes to Lady Abercorn: "I intend to arrange for publication a very complete collection of songs and poetry respecting the insurrections — for I will not call them rebellions — of 1715 and 1745, for the purpose of making a supplement to the *Border Minstrelsy*, and bringing down the ballad history of Scotland to the middle of the eighteenth century."[2] The *Minstrelsy* itself, notwithstanding the indignation of Swinburne, might properly be described, on its national merits, as rather an insurrection than a rebellion.

The next work to be briefly considered, the romance of *Sir Tristrem* as edited by Scott in 1804, involves also the question of English or Scottish supremacy, inasmuch as both its language and its authorship have since the time of Scott been a matter for scholarly variance. Scott himself attributes the ultimate authorship to Thomas of Erceldoune, a Scottish worthy, who compiled his story immediately from Celtic traditions; and the Auchinleck MS, from which the text of the romance is taken, Scott credits to an English scribe.[1] Further, he finds the Border to be the source of the English romantic fictions which Thomas and other minstrels composed and handed down. The ballads constantly celebrate the excellence of the harpers and minstrels of the "North Countree." Almost all of the ancient English minstrel ballads, like the *Gest of Robin Hood*, "bear marks of a northern origin, and are, in general, common to the Borders of both kingdoms." The traditional *Thomas the Rhymer* of the *Minstrelsy* is a "modernized and balladized" form of an ancient poem dealing with the prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune. Scott thus makes a definite connection here between Thomas of Erceldoune, the minstrels, the romances, and the ballads.[2]

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[1] A. C. Swinburne, *Ballads of the English Border*, ed. W. A. MacInnes, London, 1925.

[2] Walter Scott, *Familiar Letters*, I, 286.

The edition of *Sir Tristrem* has, besides this critical interest, an added significance for the present enquiry. It forms a natural bridge between Scott's editing and making of ballads and his writing of independent poetical romances. He does not himself find, as does McNeill in his edition of the romance, an approximation to the ballad stanza in *Sir Tristrem*. Yet it is not difficult for us to discover a sort of causal and effectual relation between Scott's editing of the traditional ballad of *Thomas the Rhymer*, his writing new parts to that ballad on the basis of traditions connected with Thomas of Erceldoune, his editing of what he believed to be that minstrel's romance of *Sir Tristrem*, his writing a conclusion to it, and his going on to compose romances of his own. No doubt he fancied himself, in writing *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, as a modern Thomas of Erceldoune, putting old traditional wine into new romantic bottles, like the first of the Scottish makers.

In his own Introduction (1830) to *The Lay of the Last Min-*

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[1] On the merits of the whole question, see Kölbing's edition of *Sir Tristrem*, Heilbronn, 1882; McNeill's edition of *Sir Tristrem*, for the Scottish Text Society, 1886; and Murray's edition of *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, for the Early English Text Society, 1875.

[2] *Sir Tristrem* was originally intended for inclusion in the *Minstrelsy* but outgrew the narrower confines of that collection; see Lockhart's *Life*, I, 331.

strel Scott has concisely explained the course of the transition, on both its formal and its material side: how he began his literary career with translations and imitations of popular poetry, how he came to the conclusion that the ballad was falling out of fashion and that it was unsuitable for longer compositions, how he worked his way from the ballad stanza to the octosyllabic couplet, how he discovered and adapted the metre and movement of *Christabel*, and how he applied these technical devices to the original treatment of the tradition of Gilpin Horner. Here in a few pages from the author's own pen we have practically the whole story of the relation of the ballads to the entire series of the poetical romances. We find him later giving confirmatory testimony, as in the lines to Erskine introducing the Third Canto of *Marmion*:

> Thus while I ape the measures wild
> Of tales that charm'd me yet a child,
> Rude though they be, still with the chime
> Return the thoughts of early time
>
> . . . .
>
> Of forayers, who, with headlong force,
> Down from that strength had spurr'd their horse,
> Their southern rapine to renew,
> Far in the distant Cheviots blue. . . .

We find him introducing anew Border characters familiar from the *Minstrelsy* and creating an incarnation of the Borderer in Deloraine. References to ballads and lines from individual ballads slip easily into the course of the narrative. Imitations like *Alice Brand*, *Lochinvar*, *Albert Graeme* show that he has not forgotten the old lilt but that he is employing it with a relative freedom belonging to the creative writer. As we look through the notes of his final edition of the poems we see from the numerous references to the *Minstrelsy* how frequently the old themes recur in fresh forms. In a note to *Alice Brand*, itself adapted from a Danish original, he introduces for comparative purposes two translations of Danish ballads from the hand of Jamieson, one of his younger editorial clansmen.

Altogether, the ballads may be found running in Protean changes throughout the romances. To what extent the public was aware of the relationship may be fairly judged by a criticism of *Marmion*. The reviewer, trying to summon Scott back to "lawful poetry," gives the following advice: "As the first step to this desirable end, we would beg him to reflect that his Gothic models will not bear him out in transferring the loose and shuffling ballad metre to a poem of considerable length, and of complicated interest like the present. It is a very *easy* thing to write five hundred *ballad verses, stans pede in uno*: but Mr. Scott needs not to be told, that five hundred verses written on one foot have a very poor chance for immortality."[1] Meanwhile Scott, fortified by other opinions more favorable, and with a cool judgment of probabilities much like that recorded autobiographically by Trollope, continued on his way until he discovered to his consternation that in *Harold the Dauntless* he had suggested comparison with another Harold who was indeed a Childe but quite a different thing from the romantic Childes known to popular poetry.

It would not be difficult by special pleading to exaggerate the importance of the ballad influence on Scott's original work. "Influences" of many sorts had thronged in upon his mind from his earliest years. He continued to read widely. Even for a matter so closely bound up with ballads as are popular superstitions, Scott had many other sources upon which to levy. As he drew farther off from the heyday of the *Minstrelsy*, Jamie Telfer and his compeers suffered a partial obscuration. So in the Waverley novels, where influences tread upon one another like thick-coming fancies.

Scott himself makes a close connection between the poetical romances and the novels in the statement, to be found in the General Preface (1829) to the Waverley novels, that some of his poetry did not differ from the prose romances except by being in verse. An early prose treatment of an ancient romantic subject, belonging to a period before the publication of his collection of ballads, is the fragmentary *Thomas the Rhymer*, the title of which indicates what was in the writer's mind. None of his later novels appears to be built wholly upon a ballad subject. In some of them, however, there is a ballad groundwork, as we learn from his later prefaces. In *Ivanhoe* the Robin Hood elements, the disguised monarch among the merry men of the forest, hold a conspicuous place. *Kenilworth* owed its inception in the first place to Mickle's ballad imitation, *Cumnor Hall*, though historical reading supplied a great part of the detail. Ballad episodes and incidents figure largely in the construction of plots; among the numerous cases may be mentioned that of Hobbie Elliot — a descendant of old Martin Elliot of ballad fame — in *The Black Dwarf*: Hobbie's bride is stolen, his home burned, his cattle carried away, and pursuit and rescue follow in the approved Border style. Ballad names and characters are drawn into the story, as in *Rob Roy*. The general conditions favorable to the survival of popular tradition are reconstructed in such a novel as *The Pirate*, where Norna particularly is the repository of ancient, and in this case largely Norse, poetic stores. The title character of *The Antiquary* is himself a collector of ballads, and Edie Ochiltree is a classic type of the ballad-singing mendicant. Then there is the glee-maiden whose voice attracts the attention of the young Duke of Rothsay in *The Fair Maid of Perth*. The minstrel Bertram, in *Castle Dangerous*, makes a picturesque entry accompanied by a woman disguised as a page — a favorite device with ballad-makers in all lands — and is later discovered immersed in an old book containing the prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer.

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[1] *Monthly Review*, LVI (May, 1808), 19.

The number of casual references to ballads in the novels is almost beyond computation. Nearly as surprising is the facility with which the characters quote apposite scraps of ballad verse and even conduct longer conversations in the ballad stanza. Madge Wildfire, in *The Heart of Midlothian*, dies with a song about Proud Maisie and Sweet Robin on her lips. Needless to say, the alleged ballads and fragments scattered about in Scott's fiction are not all to be accepted as traditional. As for the bits of verse serving as mottoes for the several chapters, the author informs his readers, in the final Introduction to *The Chronicles of the Canongate*, that these metrical crumbs are "sometimes quoted either from reading or from memory, but, in the general case, are pure inventions." While many of them may be traced to traditional sources in the *Minstrelsy* or elsewhere, we may be content here to heed Scott's further admonition not to look for them by the cold light of research.

All in all, the lantern of Diogenes is a less suitable means than some others of learning the essential truth in this "worldis room" of romance. The Border, the Debatable Land, the Yarrow and the Tweed, all their tributary lands and streams are best revisited, as Scott said of Melrose Abbey, by the glimpses of the moon.

CHAPTER III

THE BALLAD CLAN OF SCOTT

Your poetic, ballad-scrap, auld-world, new-world, Scottish tastes and feelings seemed to go side for side with my own.

ALLAN CUNNINGHAM: letter to Robert Chambers.

SCOTT closes his Introduction to the *Minstrelsy* with some remarks on his purpose in rescuing from oblivion the legendary history, the popular superstitions contained in his collection: "By such efforts, feeble as they are, I may contribute somewhat to the history of my native country; the peculiar features of whose manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into those of her sister and ally. And, trivial as may appear such an offering, to the name of a kingdom, once proud and independent, I hang it upon her altar with a mixture of feelings which I shall not attempt to describe." A quarter of a century later, at the Theatrical Fund dinner, where the identity of the Great Unknown was disclosed, Lord Meadowbank declared that Scotland had accepted that early offering and later offerings as a national inheritance in perpetuity. Whether the genius of Scott might have taken another turn had he been able, under impossible suppositions, to devote his services to a native country whose manners and character were not daily melting into those of a sister and ally but daily growing into greater individuality and independence, it is idle to speculate. And still, the question is not altogether beside the point when we take into account the peculiarly national bearings of the intense occupation with native myth and legend in Germany during Scott's own lifetime, and in Denmark, Norway, Finland, and other countries later in the century. Scott's work, at all events, came to be less specifically Scottish and more broadly British as the years wore on.

It may have been a feeling that nationalism, in any but a romantic sense, was a lost cause that made Scott fall back upon his own clan. There we find him at the beginning of his career, stirring about on the Border among the memories of the energetic tribe whose name he bore. The *Minstrelsy* is a renaissance of his own family. Denied by circumstance the life of activity he desired, Scott found through a resuscitation of his epic forbears the vicarious activity of a lifelong devotion to epic deeds, in ballad, in romance, in novel. So he became a Scottish chief in a borrowed sense but in a more eminent degree. It is no paradox to say that by means of clannishness he became a national figure, a symbol of Scottish nationality.

Among the marchmen that gathered about him it is possible here to deal only with those who acknowledged him as their head in the smaller domain of popular traditions. This group, composed of those who took part in his ballad raids and those who enjoyed his largesse, includes almost all the men who had anything to do with the collecting and editing of ballads in Scotland during his life. These are the "black-letter dogs" to be dealt with in the following pages under the general designation of the Clan of Scott. Their number and the high value of their work will illustrate the national significance of the movement which has become associated so conspicuously with the name of Sir Walter Scott.

Before going on to discuss the men of letters more intimately connected with Scott, we may pause to notice one or two publications that lie on the confines of balladry. One of these is Dalyell's *Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century* (1801), which Leyden thought well of.[1] The other is James Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* (1802). In both of these selections from the earlier Scottish poets the old Gude and Godly Ballates hold their ground against mundane ballads

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[1] See Leyden's "Observations on *The Complaynt of Scotland*," in *The Scots Magazine*, LXIV (July, 1802), 566–573, in which Leyden presents a counterblast against Pinkerton's criticism of his edition of the *Complaynt*.

25666

of any sort; Dalyell devotes some pages to a connected account of the historical attempt to sanctify the popular poetry. Sibbald was a bookseller, a remote successor of Allan Ramsay in the trade, among whose shelves Scott had browsed in early youth. Scott pointed out in a notice of the work in *The Edinburgh Review* that most of Sibbald's materials were available in some form before. Yet collections such as Sibbald's and Dalyell's served to draw attention in their way to the older phases of the national literature and so to stimulate an interest in poetical antiquities which reacted favorably upon the reception of ballad books. Miscellaneous contributions in the periodicals were useful to the same end.

John Leyden, though he is here placed first in the clan of Scott, is by no means to be looked upon as a pupil of that great master. In the relations between the two, Leyden was probably the benefactor rather than the beneficiary. Born and bred in Teviotdale, his mother a member of a family of Scotts, Leyden from his earliest youth was immersed in the traditional lore of a region unusually rich in such traditions. In his *Scenes of Infancy*, a longer poem descriptive of Teviotdale in which classic and romantic tendencies are agreeably mingled, the poet has recorded many of the popular influences that shaped his growing mind. When he met Scott in 1801, through the good offices of Richard Heber, Leyden had long been collecting ballad materials and familiarizing himself with older literature on pertinent subjects to such an extent that he was able to give much assistance to the editor of the *Minstrelsy*. Meanwhile Leyden had undertaken an extensive tour of the Highlands and the Western Islands of Scotland in 1800. The journal of that tour, not published till more than a century had elapsed, discloses the writer's interest in many things besides poetry. The passages in the book which concern this discussion have to do with the Ossianic question. Leyden not only met and spoke with persons who had some knowledge of surviving Erse fragments, of manuscripts, and of aged reciters, but the upshot of his enquiries was that he attached considerable credence to Macpherson's account of the whole matter.[1]

It is chiefly in his edition of *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1801) that Leyden reveals himself as a master of ballad lore. His long Preliminary Dissertation has been generally regarded as a creditable piece of investigation. Leyden himself foresaw that his argument for Lindsay's authorship of the *Complaynt*, based on external and internal evidences, would not be held conclusive.[2] He had more reason for confidence in the utility of his exposition of phases of early minstrelsy and romance. His occasion lay in the list of metrical romances and other poems, dances, and popular airs which the author of the *Complaynt* has preserved in his pastoral excursus. Leyden's comments on the individual items in the list and his generalizing remarks on the whole subject exhibit his learning in a most favorable light. The tales and romances he arranges in three groups, according to subject and not to origin: the British, the French, and the Classical; within these groups he makes critical observations on each piece, having to do with its history and its connections with other literature. Some of his more general views have a particular relation to the doctrines of scholars before him and after. On the origin of romantic fictions he disclaims the Gothic theory represented most actively in his time by Pinkerton and the Arabic theory of Warburton and Warton; he prefers the Welsh or Armorican position of Ellis. Many of the romances, he believes, anticipating Scott's declarations in the *Minstrelsy*, were later broken down into ballads and so preserved in fragmentary form by tradition. Here he mentions especially those dealing with dragons and monsters, and another class describing the "unnatural involvements"

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[1] John Leyden, *Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland in 1800*, ed. James Sinton, Edinburgh, 1903.

[2] See Murray's edition of the *Complaynt*, in the series of the Early English Text Society. Murray calls attention, among other things, to the great influence of Leyden's edition in the subsequent formation of printing clubs and learned societies organized for the publication of older literature.

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of love, as in *Lizie Wan* and *The Bonny Hind.* Some of the historical ballads had a similar origin, just as many of the Irish and Gaelic historical poems "have the appearance of episodes, or rhapsodies, detached from larger poems, of which they seem to have formed a part" and which Macpherson appears to have restored to a semblance of their original unity. Although Leyden makes casual associations of minstrels with ballads, he does not discuss this moot question at large, and in fact declines to commit himself on the special topic of minstrel history in the Scottish Lowlands, which in his opinion remains obscure. The airs mentioned in the *Complaynt* cannot, he continues, be positively identified with popular airs now current, even if, as he holds to be the case, tradition has held fast more firmly to the melodies than to the words of the ballads.

Much of Leyden's accumulated knowledge enriched the critical portions of the *Minstrelsy*; it has been pointed out particularly that Leyden really wrote the "Essay on the Fairies," with reference to which Scott rather vaguely confessed his indebtedness.[1] Leyden was of service besides in supplying incidental information and ballad texts. Both the *Tales of Wonder* and the *Minstrelsy* published respectable imitations from his hand. He further assisted Scott in the editing of *Sir Tristrem.*

In his *Scenes of Infancy* (1803) the scholar poet weaves into the description threads of popular lore, which it hardly requires his accompanying notes to identify with individual ballads and other traditions. Border characters and events figure largely, the Douglases, the Scotts, and many more. Toward the close there is an eloquent apostrophe to Walter Scott himself, a compliment which Scott no more than justly repaid in his biographical memoir of his friend and coadjutor, as well as in earlier passages introductory to some of the poetical romances.

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[1] See Robert White's Supplement to Scott's *Memoir,* in Leyden's *Poems and Ballads* (Kelso, 1858), p. 88, as compared with Scott's own statement, *ibid.*, p. 29; see also Henderson's edition of the *Minstrelsy.*

Robert Jamieson may with some reason be regarded as a disciple of Scott. Yet he was by no means a dependent. Though he received material assistance and encouragement from the older man, he had friends in other quarters. Leyden gave him some aid. Robert Anderson and Sir Frederick Eden enlisted Percy's active sympathy with Jamieson's plans, and Professor Gerrard of Aberdeen was instrumental in establishing first an intermediate and then a direct communication between him and that fountainhead of ballad texts, Mrs. Brown of Falkland. A sketch of the preliminary history of his *Popular Ballads and Songs* will illustrate the methods employed by the editor in preparing his collection; the account will be drawn from Jamieson's own Advertisement to his book and from other published and unpublished sources.

It was in March, 1799, that Jamieson, who had for some time been turning the matter over in his mind, got the most important nucleus for his materials in the shape of a manuscript collection of ballads which Mrs. Brown nearly twenty years before had intended for William Tytler. She eventually prepared another manuscript containing the better part of the original texts, though somewhat altered in detail, for William Tytler. The first manuscript remained in the hands of her nephew, the later Professor Robert Scott, and was by him given to Jamieson at the request of the Rev. Dr. Gerrard. This manuscript, known to Child as the Jamieson–Brown MS, contained twenty good texts. Much encouraged, Jamieson the next summer left his school in England and undertook a journey into Scotland. There he met Walter Scott and was somewhat disheartened to learn that Scott too was undertaking a collection. Scott meanwhile had secured the use of the William Tytler manuscript, and so the two men found themselves in possession of materials to a certain degree the same. They arrived, however, at an amicable understanding. Scott explains that he reserved part of his means in order not to cross the purposes of Jamieson; yet some of the common property was first printed in the *Minstrelsy* and consequently omitted from Jamieson's collection, as published later. Jamieson nevertheless continued his own collecting and found occasion in due course to acknowledge definite assistance from Scott. From various items of published correspondence of the years 1800 and 1801, comprising letters of Percy, Robert Anderson, and Jamieson, it appears that Jamieson appealed to Percy for texts from the *Folio Manuscript*, that Percy at the time was using this manuscript in the preparation of the proposed fourth volume of the *Reliques* and therefore could not grant the request in the desired way, but that he sent Jamieson certain materials copied from that valuable source by his own hand.[1] Jamieson met Mrs. Brown in the summer of 1800; he got texts from her personally and through subsequent correspondence, and also from Robert Scott.[2] He acknowledges obligations to other persons in his Advertisement. In *The Scots Magazine* for October, 1803, he published a request for new texts or versions of certain ballads which he there names and describes. The state of his printed collection would indicate that this public appeal was at least in part successful. In his letter to the magazine he particularly cautions possible contributors not to deceive him with spurious or sophisticated pieces and so put him in danger of misleading his readers.

From the solemnity of this adjuration it might be inferred that Jamieson himself burned with zeal for true readings of the text. To a great degree the inference would prove justified; yet in his case, as in the case of most of the editors of the period, assertions regarding exactness require investigation. Jamieson had received in 1801 a letter from Percy in which the Bishop justifies his alterations from the *Folio Manuscript.*[1] In the Advertisement to his collection, Jamieson specifically praises Percy in this respect at the expense of Ritson. Nevertheless, Jamieson in the same connection states that he himself has been most careful and exact. On the whole, a closer inspection of his methods reveals that he was rather more finical in scrutinizing the sources of his texts than in preparing them for final publication. In various instances he is quite frank in explaining just how he has gone about combining versions for the purpose of arriving at a complete piece; now and then he has even bracketed lines and stanzas inserted in the effort to arrive at a satisfactory whole. A good illustration of his method will be found in his own statement of his procedure in the case of *The Twa Sisters*, where he says that he gives Mrs. Brown's text verbatim and that he designates his own "necessary or proper" interpolations by means of brackets. His verbal alterations often go in the direction of making the text, as he thinks, more Scottish in diction. Child found Jamieson's printed texts not entirely impeccable.[2]

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[1] For the letters of Percy, Anderson, and Jamieson, see Nichols's *Illustrations*, the index, especially under the name of Jamieson.

[2] For the complicated history of the several manuscripts listed by Child as deriving from Mrs. Brown, I have had recourse to the *Notes* of Professor Kittredge on a manuscript copy of the William Tytler MS from the hand of Joseph Ritson; in the Harvard College Library: (MS) 25241.37.6*; Ritson's copy of the William Tytler MS, 25241.37.5*. In the same library will be found a copy, made under the superintendence of Professor Child, of the Jamieson-Brown MS as it came to Jamieson, with additions from Jamieson of letters and ballad texts from his own correspondence with Mrs. Brown: (MS) 25241.15*.

Nevertheless, Jamieson's collection is a valuable storehouse. Several ballads appeared in it for the first time.

Jamieson included in his *Popular Ballads and Songs* some translations of Danish ballads from the collection of Syv (1695). These he has rendered with approximate fidelity but in a peculiar diction intended to show the close verbal relationship between the Danish and the Scottish languages; he calls this process the "proper manner of Albinizing Scandinavian poetry." [3] His Albinizing, which resulted in a type of Scottish dialect that may not have been altogether familiar to his namesake, the lexicographer John Jamieson, had a corollary in critical views perhaps more significant than the generality of his exegetical comments. While his book was going through the press Jamieson sent from Riga, in time for insertion in the second volume, a translation of the Danish ballad of *Skiøn Anna*, with an enthusiastic commentary. In it he notes the strong likeness between the Danish ballad and *Lord Thomas and Fair Annie* in the *Minstrelsy* and *Lady Jane* in his own collection. From this similarity he goes on to build up the theory that the Scandinavians brought ballads with them on their invasions of Britain and that many of the Scottish ballads have probably come down by oral tradition from the very days of the immigrant scalds. Whether his opinions had anything to do with his friendship, referred to in the same letter, for Professor Thorkelin, the Danish scholar known to Englishmen particularly for his connection with the revival of *Beowulf*, I have no means of judging. Jamieson appears, at any rate, to have been the first to suggest this piquant Anglo-Norse theory, which adds much to the historical value of his work.[1]

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[1] Nichols's *Illustrations*, VIII, 341.

[2] On Jamieson's handling of *Young Beichan*, see Child's No. 53 *A*, drawn from the Jamieson–Brown MS, as compared with No. 53 *E*, the text that Jamieson compounded from the MS and from other sources.

[3] Jamieson, *Popular Ballads and Songs*, I, 209.

Jamieson continued his Northern studies and published some of the fruits in his *Popular Heroic and Romantic Ballads*, such being the subtitle designating his share in the *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities* (1814), a work of collaboration between Scott,[2] Jamieson, and Henry Weber. Jamieson explains, in the separate Introduction to his portion of the book, that owing to dissatisfaction with the imperfections of his first published collection he has for some years been selecting and translating poems from the Scandinavian, the German, and various Slavic languages for insertion in a proposed

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[1] William Taylor of Norwich, reviewing Jamieson's collection in *The Annual Review and History of Literature*, V (1806), 534–535, in spite of his German interests misses this peculiarly "Gothic" point. His criticism, it should be added, contains an elaborate definition of ballad poetry.

[2] The plan for the *Northern Antiquities* was originally more comprehensive. See letters of Scott to Polwhele on the subject, dated October 11, 1810, and December 30, 1810, in *Letters of Sir Walter Scott addressed to the Rev. R. Polwhele*, etc. (London, 1832), pp. 26 ff.

Appendix to his *Popular Ballads and Songs*; now he seizes the opportunity of placing his addenda in the *Northern Antiquities*. His translations here comprise, besides a few from the German of Herder's *Volkslieder* and one or two from other tongues, a large and representative group of Danish romantic ballads and, what is of particular interest in this connection, several of the Danish legendary ballads treating phases of the German and Old Norse story of the *Nibelungen*; his comments on the individual pieces show a respectable knowledge of the subject. Again in a comparative vein, he correlates the Swedish ballad of *Sir Wal and Lisa Lyle* with the Danish ballad of *Fair Midel and Kirsten Lyle* and by means of an interlinear translation of the first-named into his own Scotch tongue finds a way, as he puts it, of exhibiting "the Danish, Swedish, and Scottish ballad, as nearly as possible, in one point of view." In the general Introduction he holds the narrative ballads to be "the oldest of all compositions"; from them romances were built up; and from these in turn ballads were broken down. The Germanic songs mentioned by Tacitus, he continues, may still possibly survive in altered shape "in the elder Northern and Teutonic romances, the Danish and Swedish, Scottish and English popular ballads" and similar songs in Germany, a relationship which the *Northern Antiquities* is intended to illustrate. Weber's discussion of Teutonic romance in the Introduction to his own excerpts and abstracts of the *Heldenbuch* and the *Nibelungen Lay* rather sticks to known historical facts than ventures on the uncertain ground of theory.[1] Scott merely gives an outline of the *Eyrbyggia Saga*. Nevertheless, in this one volume of the *Northern Antiquities* the methods of comparative literature are applied on a scale hitherto unknown in Britain with reference to the bearing of German and Scandinavian literature on English and Scottish ballad and romance. In view of Jamieson's period of residence abroad and of Weber's German antecedents and obvious sympathies, it is difficult to avoid seeing in this tripartite Scottish book a sort of cousinship to those highly significant contemporary studies in Germany through which Arnim, von der Hagen, the Grimms, and others, particularly by means of popular poetry and the *Nibelungen*, were engaged in erecting by black-letter magic the imposing structure of romantic scholarship. Had Weber lived longer, had Jamieson not sunk back on the pillows of patronage for which he had cried so lustily in his youth, and had Scott, unpreoccupied with no doubt more important affairs, learned to know sagas of far greater meaning to poetic antiquities than the *Eyrbyggia*, the story of comparative literature in Britain might have been quite different. As it happened, the *Northern Antiquities* came to be a loosely constructed, and for some time solitary, outpost.

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[1] Weber, better known as a student of metrical romances, takes some rank among the ballad editors by reason of his elaborate edition of the ballad-like poem, *The Battle of Floddon Field* (1808). His whole service to Scott, through a period of some ten years, in the matter of *Sir Tristrem* and other works, deserves remark.

John Finlay takes issue with both Scott and Jamieson in his *Scottish Historical and Romantic Ballads* (1808). He ventures to contradict Scott's position, in the case of *Sir Tristrem*, as to the Scottish origin of romance, leaning rather toward the French side. His quarrel with Jamieson has to do with the origins of the ballad. Finlay finds little difficulty in assigning the historical ballads a place; they "have sprung up, like the greater part of the popular poetry of all uncivilized nations, among the people themselves, as the record of their most interesting events." The romantic ballads, a more delicate subject of enquiry, he believes to be derived from various sources. Some, like *Burd Helen* and *Thomas the Rhymer*, appear to be offshoots of romances; most of the others which cannot be related in some way to real happenings, are of uncertain domestic or foreign derivation. In opposition to Jamieson's theory of loans from the Scandinavian, Finlay argues that the barter might as easily have gone in the contrary direction; in the absence of evidence for the priority of the Danish songs, it is unnecessary to fix upon either migration; there is a large probability that the minstrels of both countries drew in great measure from French sources. This opinion is striking, since much recent scholarship has been concerned in showing the French influence on Northern ballads. Finlay's texts, in general carefully edited from earlier publications, from manuscripts, or from recitation, have provided the ballad canon with a number of excellent items. Finlay adds to the traditional numbers two or three imitations of his own, good in narrative sweep and particularly in diction.[1]

R. H. Cromek can hardly with propriety be counted one of the clan of Scott. In the first place, he was an Englishman. In the second place, although he pays some compliments to Scott, he takes a fling at him for representing himself as an English writer in his essay on Burns,[2] and he dissents vigorously from Scott's opinion of certain poems of Burns.[3] Furthermore, Cromek by profession, if not altogether by poetic sympathy, enlisted himself under the house of Burns. Yet his various publications in the field of Scottish poetry make it advisable to take him into account at this point, especially by reason of his association with Allan Cunningham, who distinctly falls within the Scottish succession.

The first of Cromek's enterprises to demand notice is his *Reliques of Robert Burns* (1808). This work is intended to serve as a sort of supplement to Dr. Currie's edition of the poet. It contains letters and biographical notes gathered by Cromek in a pilgrimage to the haunts of Burns; a second portion of the book is made up of "Strictures on Scottish Songs and Ballads" written in the hand of Burns in an interleaved copy of Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, which has come into the possession of Cromek; these strictures contain pieces of poetry added by Burns to his comments. In 1810 Cromek published his *Select Scotish Songs* in which appear the strictures mentioned above, a large number of the poems on which the strictures were originally made, certain new materials such as Burns's *Jolly Beggars*, now published with hesitant modesty by Cromek under cover of Scott's reproach against Currie's omission of the poem; and notes by Cromek himself. Both the *Reliques* and the *Select Scotish Songs* contain popular ballad texts and various ballad narratives of a somewhat different character.

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[1] For a contemporary opinion of Finlay's collection, see *The Annual Review*, VII (1808), 457–462.

[2] R. H. Cromek, *Select Scotish Songs*, II, 230 n.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 252 ff.

During his journey in Scotland, Cromek had made the acquaintance of Allan Cunningham and enlisted his help in gathering local poetical traditions. To this association balladry owes the *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, published in 1810 under the name of Cromek. Letters printed in David Hogg's *Life* of Cunningham, together with Peter Cunningham's Introduction to his father's *Poems and Songs*, explain how Allan Cunningham fell in with Cromek's enthusiastic desire of forming a collection of traditional verse and how he assisted the vagrant native muse of Nithsdale in making local ballad materials ready for the public. Here again, as in many previous cases, a conscious sophistication of texts must be noted. The peculiar interest of Cunningham's inventiveness lies in its association, notably through Cromek's earlier publications, with the practice of Burns. Burns had notoriously elaborated many of his songs by passing traditional materials through his own poetical alembic. Cunningham had ambitions to set up as a poet in his own right. Although it appears from Hogg's record that Cunningham experienced some qualms with reference to his impostures, he must be judged by a later generation in the light of Burns's openly praised example. Cromek, to judge by certain of his letters, must be counted to some degree a party to the devices of his Nithsdale collaborator. The patriotic note in the Introduction to the *Remains* derives from Cunningham.[1] On the whole, there is more than a modicum of truth in the judgment of a biographer of Cromek, as to the merits of the *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*: "Never was there a work published more interesting, more sentimental, and at the same time more chastely whimsical than this." [1]

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[1] According to Hogg, Cunningham is responsible for practically the entire book; see Hogg's *Life of Allan Cunningham*, pp. 68 ff. Cunningham writes to his brother James from London, September 8, 1810, that "every article but two little scraps was contributed by me, both poetry and prose"; see *ibid.*, p. 79.

After the *Remains* were printed but before they were yet published, Cunningham wrote to his brother James that he expected to publish a volume of old ballads as soon as he could collect them; he adds the frank statement, with reference to a poem of his own on the subject of *Chevy Chase*, "I could cheat a whole General Assembly of Antiquarians with my original manner of writing and forging ballads." [2] Some months later, when James has seen the *Remains* and expressed himself on their merits, Allan in his reply excuses a certain coarseness in some of the poems as due to the "songs and ballads being written for imposing on the country as the reliques of other years." [3] The world in this case may have been willing to be deceived, but Cunningham's Scottish friends, Wilson and James Hogg particularly, recognized his hand at once.[4] Even the general assembly of antiquarians were not so easily cheated as Cunningham had fancied they might be.

For some years Cunningham's fortunes now turned his talents in other directions. His association with Chantrey led to his making the acquaintance of Scott. Scott read Cunningham's tragedy of *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell*, found fault with the effectiveness of the play for the stage, and conveyed this opinion to Cunningham in a letter of 1820. A little later he wrote to encourage Cunningham to proceed with his plan of publishing a collection of Scottish songs. In this field Cunningham hardly required encouragement. The collection appeared in four volumes in 1825, under title of *The Songs of Scotland*.

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[1] Robert Blair, *The Grave* (London, 1813), p. 1. The remarks on Cromek occur in the Preface.

[2] Hogg, *Life of Allan Cunningham*, p. 80.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 104 ff.

This work provides an admirable means of understanding the editor's previous irregularities in that it makes quite clear his whole attitude toward the earlier verse, traditional or not, of his native land. In passing it may be remarked that Cunningham in various references to the former publication in which he had so large a share, speaks of it as Cromek's. This reserve is not to be charged to repentance for his youthful errors, since throughout *The Songs of Scotland*, the editor openly avows his practice of new-modeling his materials for the purpose of presenting a readable text. He explains, as well, his reason for doing so wherever he thought it required: songs that have been popularly bandied about for a number of years have already undergone numerous changes and even intentional alterations at the hands of anonymous singers with poetic gifts. He does not give the real and vital explanation in so many words; but it may be gathered from his general Introduction, from his little biographies, from his notes, from the array of songs: Cunningham was himself a poet, working freely with the materials of poetry. Read his sketch of Allan Ramsay and his sketch of Burns, poets before him. Read his keen analysis of the difference between Percy the man of letters and Ritson the mere antiquary. Cunningham was not the scholar, to distinguish painfully a narrative ballad from a lyric; to him they were all songs. Those which had a fixed form attached to some known poet he left pretty much unmolested; those that were not so circumstanced he treated as a sculptor treats modeling clay. The ballad editor might be displeased with *The Songs of Scotland*; the general reader, finding vigorous and intelligent critical opinion and a rich selection of poems, might declare in favor of Honest Allan.

James Hogg allied himself to the clan of Scott through the ties of a somewhat distant blood relationship. Whatever the consanguinity may have been, Hogg and Walter Scott became acquainted during the time of Scott's most active preparations for the *Minstrelsy*. It was from Hogg's mother that

Scott got the disputed text of *Auld Maitland*; from her he heard as well a critical comment on some of his printed ballads that fits the case of many of the Scottish collections: "An ye hae spoilt them a' thegither. They were made for singing, an' no for reading; an' they are nouther right spelled nor right setten doun." At this point, so the story goes on, Laidlaw laughed at Scott. In some *Lines to Sir Walter Scott* written many years afterward, Hogg has left a poetic record of the incident:

> When Maitland's song first met your ear,
> How the furled visage up did clear,
> Beaming delight! though now a shade
> Of doubt would darken into dread
> That some unskilled presumptuous arm
> Had marred tradition's mighty charm.

And, when the "ancient Minstreless" has finished her recitation of the three sons of Auld Maitland,

> Thy fist made all the table ring, —
> "By —, Sir, but that is the thing!"[1]

Hogg himself had greater ambitions than belonged to mere ballad collecting. With that sturdy self-esteem to which we owe many choice morsels of Hoggian anecdote, Hogg made up his mind, as soon as he learned to know Scott's imitations, that he could order those things better himself. The curious reader may examine the grounds of his confidence in *The Mountain Bard* (1807), a sizable volume of original ballads based on Ettrick superstitions and bits of Border history; although these poems may not be held to proceed altogether from an "unskilled presumptuous arm," it cannot be denied that they have somewhat "marred tradition's mighty charm." His *Queen's Wake* gives a much better impression. While it was written — as a narrative of a three-nights' bardic competition before Queen Mary — mainly to permit Hogg to place advantageously some ballad imitations and other brief narrative poems, the entire scheme of the production permits of greater variety than was possible with the rather monotonous succession of imitations in *The Mountain Bard*. It must be said, moreover, of Hogg's ballads in both of these works that they were, as some of his contemporary critics found, not free from tediousness.[1] Hogg's imitation of his own imitations in *The Poetic Mirror* (1816), the ballad of *The Gude Greye Katt*, suffers from the same defect, while to a modern taste it has a drollness that is only heightened by its unintentional suggestion of the narrow margin separating between burlesque and serious imitation in this type of poetry. Hogg's prose tales, like *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, touch at many points his favorite fields of tradition, to which he paid something of a personal tribute in the epilogue on superstition attached to his *Pilgrims of the Sun* (1815).

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[1] The Blackie edition of *The Poetical Works of the Ettrick Shepherd*, IV, 267. On the traditional merits of *Auld Maitland*, see Andrew Lang's discussion in his *Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy*. Child excluded the ballad from his collection.

The Jacobite Relics (1819–21) bear witness to Hogg's historical interests. For this collection he acknowledges indebtedness in many individual instances to Scott's collections, who, it will be remembered, at one time thought of publishing the poetry of the insurrections himself. In other cases Hogg gives Cromek as his source, and here occasionally pays Allan Cunningham the compliment of recognition. He drew upon other printed and traditional sources as well, and did not hesitate to lend a helping hand himself in shaping the texts; some of the poems are wholly his own. James Maidment was later to single Hogg out as "the most unfaithful of editors." [2]

Two collections of John Struthers, to whom also Scott played the patron, require some attention. One is *The Harp of Caledonia* (1819), consisting of songs, mostly by known and recent authors and mostly Scottish, though the editor does not wholly ban the English. In his Preface Struthers gives several reasons for the excellence of Scottish song: the romantic scenery of the country, the "fervour of passion tempered for the most part with the greatest delicacy," and "a spirit of dignified independence"; to these he adds "a vein of humour." The appended essay "On Scottish Song Writers" is made up mainly of a connected series of biographical and critical comments on the chief lyrists of Scotland: Ramsay, Mickle, Ferguson, Burns, and others. The assortment of songs is large and well chosen. Struthers's *British Minstrel* (1822) is a collection of traditional ballads, English and Scottish, of imitations, and of parodies. The Preface treats lightly and with no great originality the functions of the English minstrels and the corresponding Scottish bards and pipers, to whom he allows only a small measure of honor and inventive ability. *The British Minstrel* is listed among the textual sources by Child.

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[1] *Annual Review*, VI (1807), 554–557, reads in part: "The prolix and superstitious tales of village grandames will not long have charms for a cultivated *English* public." The reviewer recommends this judgment to such as may be tempted to follow Hogg's example.

[2] Maidment, *Scotish Ballads and Songs* (1859), Introduction, p. xiii.

Some smaller collections of various kinds and qualities may be mentioned here in their general chronological sequence. Two of these, rather to be described as pamphlets than as books, are from the hand of Alexander Laing: the first, his *Scarce Ancient Ballads* (1822); the other, his *Thistle of Scotland* (1823). Both of these are listed among the printed sources by Child. Two works of David Laing should be taken into account as well, his *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland* (1822) and his *Early Metrical Tales* (1826). Though the second of these contains ballad texts, both of them belong rather to the field of romances. Many years afterward, David Laing, grown to be a trusted veteran, superintended with Alexander Allardyce a new edition of C. K. Sharpe's *Ballad Book.*

C. K. Sharpe as a young man began his association with balladry through Scott and the *Minstrelsy*, to which he contributed some information and some ballad imitations. A correspondence sprang up between the two men, while the *Minstrelsy* was preparing, and continued for many years on details of genealogy, ballad lore, and the like. In a letter of

October 17, 1802, Scott expresses himself as greatly pleased with Sharpe's *Caerlaveroc* for its "track of true ballad simplicity"; he goes on to touch one of the tender spots of ballad imitation in the comment, "I feel it difficult to avoid slipping into the morass of bald and childish doggerel, which you so happily avoid."[1] A few years later Sharpe ventured before the world with a collection of original ballads and other verse, entitled *Metrical Legends* (1807). The imitations in this work cannot be called very successful. Even Sharpe's attempt to ameliorate the crudities of popular diction got him into difficulties with the reviewers.[2] The titles of two of the poems will serve to indicate the type of romanticism Sharpe was involved in at the time, namely *The Fiend with Mantle Grey* and *The Murder of Dumblane*. It is, however, Sharpe's *Ballad Book* (1823) that chiefly invites examination. Sharpe and Scott had continued to exchange antiquarian missives; both before and after the publication of Sharpe's collection, Scott was most generous in supplying materials. All things considered, the *Ballad Book*, in spite of its good texts, is rather disappointing. As it stands, it represents the editor's dilettante spirit in a rarely telling manner. From Scott, Sharpe in the course of his long-continued occupation with the subject got some unusually valuable stores, such as the Old Lady's Manuscript, the Skene Manuscript, stall-copies, and what not. For some time after 1823, Sharpe continued to nourish the plan of issuing another collection, but nothing came of his intentions. Sharpe's collections, however, in the long run found their true harborage. Particularly through the assistance of William Macmath, Child eventually made use of Sharpe's manuscripts, enriched as they came to be with the comments of Scott, Motherwell, and others who had poured their varied contributions into Sharpe's roomy kettle.[3]

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[1] Alexander Allardyce, *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, I, 146–147.

[2] *Annual Review*, VII (1808), 473–474.

[3] On this matter, consult, besides the cursory references in Child's collection, copies of Sharpe manuscripts and other materials in the Harvard College Library: catalog numbers 25241.53, 25241.54, 25241.55 F, and 25241.56 F.

He therefore takes rather more important rank as a collector and a mediator of texts than as an editor. His attitude may be judged somewhat through his having published the *Ballad Book* in a very limited edition, for bibliophiles. To this circumstance we owe the later edition (1880) of his pretty little book, at the hands of David Laing and Alexander Allardyce, in which many of Scott's notes, some notes from the unpublished remains of Sharpe himself, pertinent letters, and other scraps of commentary, together with a few additional ballads are to be found.

One of the many ballad collectors with whom Sharpe came to be associated was the much-belabored Peter Buchan. In the accumulation of texts this Aberdeenshire man was something of a phenomenon; as an editor he may be counted among the most puzzling of the latter-day devotees of the science. For pure persistency in a thankless task he deserves a better memorial than contemporary and later critics have been inclined to give him.

Some account of his various manuscript collections may serve to put his published works in proper perspective. In 1827 he came up to Edinburgh with a huge folio collection for which he had been accumulating materials for more than ten years. The next year a large part of this hoard was published. He continued to collect by his own peripatetic exertions and by the aid of the blind itinerant [1] who has shared obliquely in Buchan's notoriety. Still bent on getting into print, and meanwhile bedeviled with financial cares, he made up another manuscript, consisting partly of unused things from his first manuscript, partly of traditional ballads picked up by blind Rankin, and partly of stall-ballads and other miscellaneous findings. Failing to enlist a publisher for this new packet, Buchan was at length constrained to dispose of it to agents for the Percy Society, which printed much of it under the editorial eye of J. H. Dixon [2] in 1845, whereupon the manuscript eventually found a permanent lodgment in the British Museum, and so in due time served the needs of Child. A third manuscript, containing "high-kilted" songs, through various hands finally came into the archives of Harvard College. There, too, by a stroke of adverse circumstance, Buchan's first manuscript arrived — too late to be used by Child.[1]

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[1] For an account of James Rankin, see Gavin Greig's *Last Leaves*, pp. 279–280.

[2] Cf. p. 117 and note.

Now to a survey of Buchan's publications. Outside of stall-copies and chap wares struck off by Buchan as a printer, there are three published collections. The first of these, drawn from earlier printed sources, and entitled *Scarce Ancient Ballads*, appeared in 1819; some years ago only a single copy of this work was reported to be in existence.[2] Of greater value is the *Gleanings of Scotch, English, and Irish Scarce Old Ballads* (1825). Buchan boasts that none of these texts had been included in any previous collection. The larger part are versions of traditional ballads; in addition, there are some two score poems by the editor himself, a relish for such readers as might not care for the old verses that had "smoked in some old woman's wardrobe for the last hundred years." Buchan's most important collection is the *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*, drawn from the first manuscript described above, and published, with the editorial aid of D. Laing and C. K. Sharpe, in two volumes in 1828. Here again Buchan insists that, except for a few texts supplied by him to Motherwell's *Minstrelsy* (1827), the contents had not previously seen the light. Although the editor states in a note[3] that it has been his practice, "in general," to print his pieces as obtained from a single reciter or other source, it may be admitted that he has done at least as much "editing" as we have seen to be done by reputable editors before him. As for the wholesale manufacture with which he and James Rankin have been charged, William Walker makes a good case in showing that Rankin's materials did not enter very largely into that first manuscript from which the collection of 1828 was printed, and that collation of the manuscript and the printed texts of this work demonstrates substantial agreement. Among contemporaries, Motherwell had a good opinion of Buchan.[1] Svend Grundtvig defended him.[2] Most telling evidence in his favor has come to light through the very extensive collections of Aberdeenshire ballads and tunes made by the late Gavin Greig. Gleaning largely in Buchan's field after the lapse of a century, Greig found that his later texts tended to confirm the substantial authenticity of Buchan's earlier texts.[3] Child, to whom Buchan and his works were at first highly repugnant, gradually came to take a more favorable view, and in the end accepted a large number of the originally proscribed ballads.[4]

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[1] See William Walker's exhaustive treatment of the history of Buchan's manuscripts in his *Peter Buchan and Other Papers*. Buchan's first MS, now in the Harvard College Library, is numbered 25241.10.5; a copy of the British Museum MS, Buchan's second MS, bears the Harvard College Library number 25241.10; the "high-kilted" MS, the original now in the same library, is numbered 25241.9. This library also has a collection of seventeen original letters, Buchan–Motherwell correspondence, numbered 25263.19.6 F.

[2] James Cameron, *Peter Buchan of Peterhead and His Publications*, a paper read before the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, December 14, 1899.

[3] Buchan, *Ancient Ballads and Songs*, II, 340.

Buchan's manner of presenting his materials is not such as to win general favor. Quite different in this respect is Robert Chambers, who gained the applause of Scott for his readable *Traditions of Edinburgh* (1823), and who through a long life of varied literary labor demonstrated popular gifts as an editor and writer on antiquarian subjects. His *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (1826), consisting of scraps of verse relating to localities, clans, families, superstitious beliefs, and the like, accompanied by brief illustrative comments, presents a few longer ballad texts. In the Preface to the second edition (1842) Chambers calls attention to the international connections of such minor antiquities. A third edition, much enlarged, was published in the *Select Writings of Robert Chambers* (1847).

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[1] For a review of Buchan's *Ancient Ballads* by Motherwell, see *The Paisley Magazine*, I, No. 13 (December 1, 1828), 639 ff. Motherwell in this important article lays down strict rules for the proper editing of ballads and declares his conviction that Buchan has in general done well. Motherwell makes a list of forty-two ballads "for the first time recovered from tradition" by Buchan, and a list of thirty-six for which Buchan has found "other, or more perfect versions of ballads already printed."

[2] Besides the letter in *Notes and Queries* referred to on p. 117, notice should be taken especially of Grundtvig's remarks on Buchan's "vulgarity" in his letter to Child of June 2, 1872. See p. 261 as to Grundtvig's detailed notes on Buchan's ballads, submitted to Child as a special report.

[3] See Greig's *Folk-Song of the North-East*, particularly the note on No. CXVII. See also his *Folk-Song in Buchan*, and, above all, his *Last Leaves*, pp. xix ff.

[4] In the Preface (footnote, p. ix) of the first edition of his *English and Scottish Ballads*, 1857, Child uses strong terms against Buchan. In his first letter to Grundtvig, March 26, 1872, he expresses great dubiety; in part through Grundtvig's influence, he eventually overcame many of his scruples.

In 1829 Chambers published his *Scottish Songs*, with an historical essay on Scottish lyrics and useful explanatory notes. During the same year he sent out a collection of *Scottish Ballads*. In the Preface he makes it clear that, since he proposes to edit a book for general reading, he has deliberately entered upon a plan of preparing texts by selecting the best stanzas from earlier printed versions; the notes to the separate numbers reveal the mode of combination from versions of Scott, Jamieson, Motherwell, and others. There is no mystification here. His procedure is not at all to be compared with the methods of some of his more secretive predecessors. What Chambers has done is perhaps best described as reconstruction, a type of editing which has been studied and practised in greater detail and with greater skill by various thoroughly capable modern scholars, notably in Denmark.

Of particular critical interest is the opinion expressed in his general Introduction with regard to the high antiquity of the romantic ballads, as distinguished from the historical ballads and the imitations. The historical ballads he makes contemporary with the events they deal with; the romantic group he assigns to a hoary past "in the infancy of society." It is all the more surprising, therefore, to find him years afterward, in a substantial essay entitled "The Romantic Scottish Ballads: Their Epoch and Authorship" (1859), contending that not only *Hardyknute*, but *Sir Patrick Spens*, *Edward*, and some two score of the most widely known romantic ballads, are not ancient at all but of modern composition, probably at the hands of Lady Wardlaw.[1] His arguments, largely stylistic and based on a faulty perception of the modes and effects of oral transmission, were soon vigorously and successfully opposed.[2] Nevertheless, toward the end of his life, although he no longer made Lady Wardlaw the comprehensive ballad poet and literary foster mother of Scott, he still clung, partly on shreds of authority drawn from Ritson and Scott, to his conviction that the origin of most of the romantic ballads of Scotland lay in the early part of the eighteenth century.[3]

Chambers's merits as a critic are not conspicuous; as an editor of ballads for the layman he did a valuable work. His popular appeal is further to be noted in an edition of *Twelve Romantic Scottish Ballads* (1844), with the original airs arranged for the piano.

In G. R. Kinloch we meet at length an editor whose texts are almost unexceptionable. The pieces in his *Ballad Book* and his *Ancient Scottish Ballads*, both published in 1827, are not only traditional in origin but they have undergone very little alteration at the hands of the editor. The notes to the *Ballad Book* give no information as to sources, but a number of the poems are to be found in the Kinloch MSS, now in the Harvard College Library. The derivation of the texts printed in the *Ancient Scottish Ballads* is in part accounted for by the editor in his annotations and in part may be discovered by reference to the manuscripts. Besides the contributors mentioned by name in the printed book, the following are to be identified from entries by Kinloch in his manuscripts: from Miss Elizabeth Beattie he got the texts of *The Gardener*, *The Bonnie House of Airly*, and *The Provost's Dochter*. From her sister, Catherine Beattie, came *The Cruel Mother*. Jenny Watson supplied six numbers, *Earl Richard*, *The Laird of Waristoun*, *The Laird of Blackwood*, *Sweet Willie*, *The Laird of Ochiltree*, and *Jock o'Hazelgreen*. Mrs. Comie, of Aberdeen, contributed *Lord Donald*. Mrs. Charles, of Torry, gave *The Duke of Athol's Nourice*. And Kinloch's niece, Miss M. Kinnear, is to be credited with *The Elfin Knicht* and *The Laird of Lochnie*. The friend mentioned in the Prefatory Notice as having communicated the airs was James Nicolson Beattie. These names of contributors are here given on the authority of William Macmath, who has inserted the information, drawn by him directly from notes in Kinloch's manuscripts, into Kinloch's own interleaved and annotated copy of the *Ancient Scottish Ballads*.

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[1] For an earlier suggestion of this theory, see Stenhouse's note to *Sir Patrick Spens* in his *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland*, 1853. Cf. the Preface to Maidment's *Scotish Ballads and Songs*, 1868, and the editor's notes on *Sir Patrick Spens.*

[2] See especially Norval Clyne's *The Romantic Scottish Ballads and the Lady Wardlaw Heresy*, 1859, and J. H. Watkins's *Early Scottish Ballads*, 1867. Cf. T. F. Henderson's *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 368. Henderson thinks that Lady Wardlaw "or another may have improved the old versions, just as Scott improved the Border ballads."

[3] See note, attached to the Preface of a new edition of *The Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870.

The Kinloch MSS in the Harvard College Library have the following principal constituents: there are three volumes of romantic and "nautical" ballads and some jocular poems, more than one hundred pieces in all, partly annotated and mostly made up of versions not included in the two printed collections; the fourth volume is the interleaved copy of the *Ancient Scottish Ballads* referred to above; the fifth volume, consisting in part of materials reproduced by Kinloch in his other printed or written volumes, contains a considerable collection of texts arranged in order by James Beattie in the years from 1820 to 1824, some seventy leaves in the hand of Kinloch, and thirty-nine leaves of contributions from John Hill Burton, and a few additional items; the sixth volume contains texts supplied by Joseph Robertson, Robert Chambers, James Beattie, and some things in Kinloch's hand; the seventh and last volume is chiefly, but not entirely, made up of the texts that went into the *Ancient Scottish Ballads*. Altogether, the seven volumes make a large assortment of ballads, variable in tone and quality but mainly traditional in derivation.

The first of the manuscript volumes is particularly illustrative of Kinloch's methods of collecting in that about one third of the forty-six items are derived, according to the collector's explicit testimony, from one reciter. Of this woman, Mary Barr of Lesmahago, Kinloch gives a brief account in a mansucript note. An old woman in 1827, she knew a large number of ballads, none of which she had got from a printed page, but all of which she had learned from her mother or from older women some fifty years before. On the whole, an examination of the Kinloch MSS is reassuring with reference to his choice of texts to be printed, his editorial methods, and his attitude toward the oral recitation from which he drew so large a share of his collected funds.[1]

In the case of William Motherwell, too, it is possible through the preservation of a considerable body of manuscript materials to arrive at assurance with reference to his methods of collecting and editing. Among these is a *Ballad Note-Book* kept by Motherwell in the years 1826–27, while he was engaged in breaking the ground for his *Minstrelsy*. These notes are made up of ballad texts, entire or in fragmentary form, of memoranda regarding certain ballads that he means to pick up from reciters here and there, lists of what he calls "old singing women" to the number of about a score, some expense accounts incident to his ballad-hunting from the spring of 1827, a preliminary sketch of his later Introduction to the *Minstrelsy*, a set definition of ballad as a "narrative song," and some further carefully phrased critical dicta on ballad subjects. Besides the notebook there is in existence a large manuscript containing between two hundred and three hundred ballad texts, many of them gathered from the lips of the old singing women, numerous texts supplied by Buchan, and miscellaneous oddments from other sources. In the greater number of instances he has indicated clearly the source of the text and often the date when the recitation was taken down by the collector. Aside from these notations there is little critical comment; though the manuscript contains many if not all of the texts later printed, the manuscript is not to be confused with the printer's copy of his book. It is mainly a large and valuable collection of texts. The date in many cases is 1825.

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[1] The above information as to the Kinloch MSS is based on personal inspection and on the valuable annotations inserted in the various volumes of the MSS by William Macmath, through whose instrumentality the Kinloch MSS came to the Harvard College Library. The library number of the seven volumes of MSS is 25242.12.

In the early part of the same year Motherwell had some correspondence with Walter Scott. Of particular illustrative value here is a letter from Scott to Motherwell, dated May 3, 1825. Motherwell has asked Scott for information regarding a text of the ballad of *Gil Morrice*. To which Scott answers that he has no particular information regarding that ballad; in reference to earlier interpolations in this ballad, made especially famous because of Home's employment of it as a foundation of his tragedy of *Douglas*, Scott urges Motherwell not to mingle the various versions into one, but to keep the several copies apart and to indicate in each case the source from which it was obtained. He says further that he is disposed to think he did wrong in combining versions for *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. He closes with some observations on the value of the different versions of ballads in determining their mutual relations and in arriving at some idea of the international connections of like ballads found in several countries.[1]

In consideration of this apologetic piece of advice from Scott, and in view of Motherwell's reputation for conscientious editing it is no matter for great surprise to find on a specimen collation of the text of *Chield Morice* and his main text of *Child Noryce* as printed in his *Minstrelsy* (1827) with the texts of both of these ballads as they appear in Motherwell's manuscript, that there are only slight verbal and literal differences between the manuscript and print in each case. It is not to be inferred, however, that Motherwell's faithfulness to his trust is to be laid wholly or even mainly to Scott's good advice. Motherwell's long and scholarly Introduction to his *Minstrelsy* shows sufficiently that he had the soundest views on the general futility of forming ballad texts by joining portions from separate sources, although in certain cases he has himself supplemented defective ballads from trustworthy sources.

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[1] Scott's letter appears in full in M'Conechy's edition of *The Poetical Works* of Motherwell, in the *Memoir* of Motherwell, pp. xvii–xix. Cf. Grundtvig's letter to Child, of July 9, 1874.

Motherwell was something of a poet in his own right. In his *Poetical Works* will be found several poems on Norse topics, after the manner of Gray, and a number of ballad imitations of the better sort, as for example, his *Elfinland Wud*.

In the manuscript notebook described above may be seen a private comment of Motherwell on his ballad collecting. At the point where his expense account reaches the sum £20, 19*s*. 6*d*. he remarks marginally, "So much for a Hobby Horse in riding of which there is neither fame nor thanks."[1] His expenses were to mount still higher before he was through; fame and thanks, as those commodities go among ballad-hunters, he has been accorded in rather liberal measure by later editors, among them both Grundtvig and Child.

One more of the close associates of Walter Scott remains to be grouped with the rest of the clan, J. G. Lockhart. His translation of the *Ancient Spanish Ballads* (1823) belongs in the general trend of ballad literature, and his relationship to Scott makes his particular work of greater significance than it might otherwise be. English interest in the Spanish ballads had been noticeable since about the middle of the eighteenth century. At first it was cultivated as a means of providing comparative illustrations for the English and Scottish ballads; later there was a more definite interest in the Spanish ballads for their own sake, and some tendency to form larger groupings of translations. Among those who had worked in this field before Lockhart may be mentioned Percy, Thomas Rodd, John Hookham Frere, Monk Lewis, Southey, Scott, Lord Holland, and others.[1] Scott used some of the Spanish materials in his *Vision of Don Roderick*. In 1822 Lockhart published a new edition of *Don Quixote* with translations of the Spanish ballads referred to in that work; this edition Scott had planned to undertake but had turned it over to Lockhart as a "much better Spaniard" than himself.[2] Lockhart had published incidental translations in several periodicals even before that time. His *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, based largely on Depping's collection (1817) and in stanzaic form modeled on Jakob Grimm's *Silva de romances viejos* (1815), has not been regarded as an altogether faithful rendering of the originals but nevertheless as a generally acceptable introduction of these romantic Spanish poems to the British reader.

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[1] Motherwell, *Ballad Note-Book*, as copied by J. B. Murdoch from the original; Harvard College Library, call number 25242.16, p. 157. The Motherwell MS of ballads, as copied by Murdoch for Child, bears the Harvard College Library number 25241.20; this copy consists of two large quarto volumes.

The influence of Walter Scott's ballad interests not only on Lockhart but on all of the men who have been grouped here as the Clan of Scott, was much more conspicuous than it has been possible to make it appear in this survey. Almost all of them came under his personal sway, and all of them recognized his leadership.

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[1] See Erasmo Buceta's "Traducciones inglesas de romances en el primer tercio del siglo xix," in *Revue hispanique*, LXII (1924), 459–555; supplementary data on Lockhart, LXVIII, 216–219.

[2] Andrew Lang, *Life of Lockhart*, p. 307.

CHAPTER IV

SOUTH OF THE BORDER

> It always entertains me very much when I can observe how these scantlings of information, which such old-fashioned puddling antiquaries as you and I dig up, come by degrees to bear on each other.
>
> WALTER SCOTT: letter to Robert Sartees.[1]

SCOTT and his contemporary countrymen form a group distinguished for the large number of ballad texts they managed to rescue from threatened loss and to impound in permanent shape in books. The activities to be chronicled for England during the same period are somewhat different in character. Although there was by no means a complete cessation of industry among the English collectors, the available materials not hitherto gathered together were not so rich as were those that rewarded the labors of the Scotsmen; consequently the number of significant collections in England was much smaller. On the other hand, the English antiquaries showed a relatively wide range of interest in publications closely allied to the field of ballad research, for example in the editing of metrical romances and other older poetry. And since, with the exception of Scott, the more prominent romantic poets and prose writers were to be found in this era not among the Scots but among the English, it is among English men of letters that we must seek particularly for the influence of the ballad, such as it was, on the general trend of literature in the first third of the century. In the special domain of burlesque, too, England has more to offer that may be worth notice than has Scotland. On the whole, the ballad and all that it implied was during this time a matter of vital concern north of the Border; to the south, it was in great measure overwhelmed by other, more fascinating and in some ways more important, romantic phenomena.

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[1] Dated March 1, 1812, and printed in George Taylor's *Memoir of Robert Surtees*, new edition by James Raine, pp. 118–120.

Before plunging into the stream of newer developments, it may be well to glance for a moment at one or two of the more conspicuous survivors of the eighteenth century. First among these is Bishop Percy. During the few years of the nineteenth century that remained to him, he is discovered as more a spectator than an actor. From his correspondence in the last decade of his life it is clear that he came to regard all that belonged to ballad editing as the amusement or even as the follies of his youth. At a distance he observed the rising star of Scott and hailed its ascendant. With Jamieson he entered into closer and more directly helpful communication. The proposed fourth volume of the *Reliques*, which was to have been edited by a nephew, did not reach the press, the nephew's death and the bishop's failing sight and gathering cares combining effectually to extinguish that gleam of promise. In 1811 the worthy prelate died. If he had any faith in the assurances of his friends and of pretty much the whole of the body literate and politic, he must have realized that the *Reliques* was to be his monument.

Percy survived his most inveterate enemy by the space of eight years. Joseph Ritson lived just long enough to thank Scott for a presentation copy of the three volumes of the *Minstrelsy* and to assure the donor in a letter that he meant to consume the dainty piecemeal.[1] He lived long enough, as well, to apply the strappado once more to Percy in his *Ancient Metrical Romances* (1802); a number of pages of the introductory dissertation "On Romance and Minstrelsy" are given over to exposing anew the frailties of the bishop's mode of editing from the *Folio Manuscript* and to slaying again the slain black knight of minstrel ballad-making, once the darling champion of Percy in the lists. Ritson's *Romances* is by no means the least valuable of his own works. In the same year he published his *Bibliographia Poetica*; one curiosity in this catalog of English poets lies in its giving William Elderton, the ballad-wright, very nearly the same space by pages as Chaucer. Among the more pertinent of Ritson's posthumous publications are his *Life of King Arthur* (1825) and his *Fairy Tales* (1831). His *Caledonian Muse* was in print in 1785, but a good part of the sheets were destroyed by fire, and the remainder of the work was not published until 1821. Many of the earlier books came out in new editions in the nineteenth century. Such is the case with the *Northern Garlands* (1810), consisting of four separate garlands published singly by Ritson years before. Other older works that went through one or more new editions are the *Select Collection of English Songs*, *Robin Hood*, *Ancient Songs*, *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry*, some of them with additional materials.[1] All this is evidence of the value of Ritson's labors. Percy's *Reliques*, not seriously shorn of popularity by Ritson's attacks, appeared in almost innumerable new editions throughout the nineteenth century. The long-delayed publication of the *Folio Manuscript* will be noticed in another connection.

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[1] Letter to Scott, June 10, 1802, in *The Letters of Joseph Ritson*, ed. Nicolas, II, 223.

Though Ritson was not the sort of man to make friends easily or to keep them readily, those who knew him well or who appreciated his work found something good to say of him after his unfortunate life was cut off. One of the more kindly critics was Scott. Another was Robert Surtees. The correspondence of these two antiquaries contains frequent references to Ritson, as indeed Scott, through the mediation of Surtees, was able to make use of materials left in manuscript by Ritson. Surtees, on arriving at Stockton in the course of his perambulatory *History and Antiquities of Durham* (1816–40), devotes several pages to a sympathetic sketch of Ritson's life and literary accomplishments.[2] In the

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[1] See the bibliography in H. A. Burd's *Joseph Ritson: A Critical Biography*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, II, No. 3 (Urbana, 1916).

[2] Robert Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, III, 193–195.

History, Surtees finds little occasion, in the course of his genealogical and topographical enquiries, to deal with local folklore, although now and then, as in the case of the fabled Worm of Lambton,[1] which later will be found winding through various collections of Durham lore, he does pause to elaborate upon popular tradition. It is not before the publication of the fourth volume of the *History*, after the author's death, that we find in the *Memoir* of Surtees by George Taylor a fuller portrait of Surtees as an exponent of popular poetry. Here he is discovered in an animated exchange of letters with Scott, to whom he communicates sham ballads, avowed imitations, and bits of antiquarian learning, much of which was of service to Scott.[2] Surtees was by no means in all respects the broken reed. As one of the last of the versatile antiquarians of the older school he deserves a place in the ballad story not to be marked wholly by reproaches.

It will be convenient at this point to take account of some other miscellaneous works, not exclusively devoted to ballads, which in their total array will serve as a background of related subjects against which the ballads may appear in clearer perspective. The authors are English, Scottish, or Irish; the works have to do with romance.

George Ellis, whose *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (1790) continued to enjoy substantial favor in the new century, published in 1805 a supplement to the earlier work, under the title of *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*. In his introductory remarks to this collection, Ellis rather sides with Percy than with Ritson on the origin of romance and on the poetical abilities of the minstrels. He specifically approves of Percy's derivation of the minstrels from the Scandinavian scalds or glee-men; and he believes that the minstrels in some cases actually had enough celestial fire to compose poetry or at all events to make new combinations of romantic materials. On the question of the wider origins of romantic fiction, he allows some justice to Percy's Scandinavian theory and to Warton's Arabic theory but thinks better still of the Armorican position held by Leyden. Yet very sensibly he warns against supposing these various systems incompatible or, on the other hand, individually sufficient.[1] Here he approaches agreement with Ritson's tenet, as expressed in his *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, that romantic fiction is a natural and almost necessary growth in all climates. Ellis, again, in introducing the "Romances relating to Arthur," notices the survival of Arthurian romance components in the shape of ballads, and so touches the opinion of Scott, declared in the *Minstrelsy* and elsewhere, as to the descent of many ballads from romances.

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, 171–172.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 1–98; a new edition of Taylor's *Memoir of Robert Surtees* was published for the Surtees Society in 1852, containing additional letters and memoranda, ballad imitations, and other poems.

Henry Weber, in his *Metrical Romances* (1810), acknowledges the assistance of Ellis and points out that he is printing in full some of the romances that had appeared only in excerpt and abstract in Ellis's work. Weber, too, expresses the opinion that much of the recent discussion of the origins of romance is beside the point, in that the aggregate is much too vast to be drawn from one source. In his remarks on *Lay le Frein* he calls attention to Norse and English ballads connected with this lay. He notes as well the importance, not hitherto much recognized in Britain, of the German and Scandinavian romances of the *Nibelungen* cycle and of the *Heldenbuch* and foretells his own occupation with that subject in the later *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*. In his *Tales of the East* (1812), a bulky thesaurus of Oriental fiction Weber calls attention again to the wide range of romance.

Dunlop, in his *History of Fiction* (1814), makes a competent criticism of the four popular theories of the sources of romantic fiction; the Norse, the Arabic, the Armorican, and the Classical. Although in one passage he allows much to

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[1] Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (1805), I, 16 ff.

Ritson's view that romance must be largely indigenous in the various countries where it has flourished, the comprehensive scope of his treatment of Oriental and Occidental, ancient and modern fictions, in effect breaks down completely the force of the earlier separatist theories. As he sees it, the various components of romance—rather than romance in the mass—components such as the marvellous, the chivalric, may be partly traced to different sources, different eras; the whole is a dome of many-colored glass.[1] While Dunlop was not specifically concerned with ballads, he extended the geography of the field immensely; the type of comparative studies that make up his book, hardly hinted at by contemporary ballad editors, later was to become conspicuously valuable in the universal aspects of ballad research.

Utterson's *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry* (1825) may be noticed in passing. More significant is the work of Crofton Croker. In 1825 he published his excellent collection of *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, taken down from recitation on the spot and written in such a manner as to conserve the popular style of narration. Croker is interested in the comparison of his Irish legends with similar things among the Teutonic peoples; he draws many illustrative details, for example, from the recently published Danish popular legends of Thiele. Croker's work had the signal honor of being translated almost immediately by the brothers Grimm (1826). To their translation they prefixed an illuminating essay on the elves. This essay, translated into English, Croker included in the publication of a new series of the *Fairy Legends* (1828), with a dedicatory letter to Wilhelm Grimm. The new series brought some additional notes communicated by Grimm, and a further section on the "Mabinogion and Fairy Legends of Wales." Croker later published a collection of *The Popular Songs of Ireland* (1839), some of which are ballad-like, but not in the narrower "popular" meaning of the term.

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[1] Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, chap. 3. Thomas Wright, in some observations on a later edition of Dunlop's *History*, makes the objection that Dunlop has given too great chronological prominence to the Byzantine novelists; Wright goes on to say, "Nothing can be more erroneous than the attempt to trace the origin of romantic literature to one particular source, be that source either Eastern, or Gothic, or Grecian. . . . Every country has possessed, in its own primeval literature, the first germ of romance"; see his *Essays on . . . the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages*, II, 38–50.

The international relations that mark Croker's *Fairy Legends* are conspicuous also in Keightley's *Fairy Mythology* (1828), as will be seen from his subtitle, "Illustrations of the Romance and Superstition of Various Countries." Keightley had, in fact, helped Croker with his *Fairy Legends*. Keightley runs a wide circle through the North of Europe. For the Scandinavian countries he introduces among other things translations of ballads from the Swedish of Geijer and Afzelius and from the Danish collection of Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, as well as some of the Danish legends of Thiele employed by Croker. Keightley's work, too, was translated into German, by Dr. O. L. B. Wolff, under the title *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen* (1828). The comparative note is marked as well in a later publication of Keightley's, *Tales and Popular Fictions* (1834), the subtitle of which stresses "their resemblance and transmission from country to country."

With one more work this miscellaneous group may be closed. This is Thoms's *Collection of Early Prose Romances* (1828). Among these prose romances we find *The Birth . . . of Robin Hood*, made up from a number of the ballads, and an account of another ballad worthy, *The History of George a Green*, the Pindar of Wakefield.

On the basis of this brief survey of some of the activities that were going on in the periphery, the story of the English ballad editors may be taken up in sequence. Some of the collections to be considered here are important for the present purpose mainly because they have conserved a text or two of traditional ballads. That such texts, however, turn up in inconspicuous crannies is one of the notable circumstances of the entire movement.

John Bell's *Rhymes of Northern Bards* (1812) is one of those county collections for which Ritson had set something of a fashion in his little provincial garlands, which Scott had illustrated on a larger scale in fixing upon the Border for his *Minstrelsy*, and which Cromek and Cunningham had curiously signalized in their harvest from Nithsdale and Galloway. Later in the century these provincial garners were to become so numerous that even a catalog of them would constitute a large bibliography.[1] Bell's *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, devoted to the counties of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland, and Durham, is a miscellaneous assortment of things. Jostled about between the covers will be found comic and serious matters, political ballads and romantic songs, poetry relatively ancient and the street verse of yesterday. There are old texts of *Otterburn* and *Chevy Chase* and *Rookhope Ryde*, and modern imitations such as *The Battle of Humbledown Hill* and *Hotspur*, "a ballad, in the manner of the ancient minstrels." The work gives a rather comprehensive view of the varied types of poetry that may be included under the term *ballad* in a wider sense. Child made use of Bell's version of *Rookhope Ryde* for comparative readings. Among the lyrics and scraps of this and that contained in John Fry's *Pieces of Ancient Poetry* (1814) Child unearthed a strange composite of the ballad of *Johnny Cock*, which he broke up into two versions under the same title in his final edition of the *Ballads* (No. 114 *B*, *C*). Fry does not say where he found the Siamese product.

The Suffolk Garland (1812) is another of the provincial repositories. Among its mixed contents will be found a version of *The Suffolk Wonder* (*Miracle*), drawn from the first collection of English ballads (1723–25), to which is appended the note, "It is thought to bear a considerable resemblance to the celebrated German ballad of *Lenore*, by Bürger." The work contains other ballad-like poems, and some comical cousins such as Robert Bloomfield's amusing burlesque entitled *The Fakenham Ghost*, wherein the author with unbecoming irreverence for the popular muse and its votaries, recounts the terrors of an "ancient dame" benighted and followed by a ghost, which in this case turns out to be nothing more spectral than the foal of an ass.

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[1] For the importance of such local ingatherings, not only for folklore but for the history of the English language, see the *Bibliographical List of the Works . . . Illustrative of the Various Dialects in English*, prepared by W. W. Skeat and J. H. Nodal and published for the English Dialect Society, 1877.

Another telling instance of how ballads were gathered into nets thrown out for other purposes may be seen in the case of a little book edited by Davies Gilbert, *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* (2d ed., 1823). Here amongst the sacred songs appear two ballads, which to a precisian might seem impious by comparison; yet they are nothing more harmful than romantic versions of *The Three Sisters*, on the motive of the riddles wisely expounded, and *The Three Knights*, on the subject of the tragic wedding without the brother's consent. The tone of the ballads makes no very violent dissonance with the carols; particularly is this true of the accompanying airs.

A much closer relation between ballad and carol is to be seen in the text of *The Cherry-Tree Carol* in William Hone's *Ancient Mysteries* (1823). Hone also offers some excerpts from two other ballads, *The Carnal and the Crane* and *Dives and Lazarus*. In the same connection he gives some information on the selling of carols in sheets, after the manner of ballads, and expresses surprise that collectors of popular poetry have to so great a degree neglected the carols. He praises particularly Davies Gilbert's work in rescuing the carol melodies in the collection mentioned above.

Hone's interest in the carols is only incidental to his occupation with the mysteries. In William Sandys's *Christmas Carols* (1833) the special subject is treated much more elaborately. Here is to be found another, and in Child's opinion better, text of *The Cherry-Tree Carol*, a second ballad on the jealousy of Joseph toward the Virgin, and a text almost literally the same as Child's *St. Stephen and Herod*; in addition there are many pieces which in narrative manner or in details of form lend force to Hone's surprise at the precedent neglect of this type of popular poetry. In a long and valuable Introduction, Sandys traces the history of the Christmas festivities to their early Christian and pagan origins and follows that history down through the centuries in England, deals with the mumming and masking appropriate to the season, discusses the relation of the minstrels to the holiday merriments, associates the singing of carols with ballad singing in general, quotes various secular ballads having to do with Christmas cheer and custom, and draws in for comparison the Noël of the French, which he further illustrates with several examples of French provincial carols. It is worth noting that Sandys finds that "the term *carol* appears originally to have signified songs intermingled with dancing," since in the accepted etymology of the word *ballad* there is implied a similar association with the dance, and since much of the more recent theory as to ballad origins is bound up with questions of the relations of ballad and dance. Sandys's book throughout is a joyous volume, especially in his presentation of the characteristically English conjoining of secular mirth with religious solemnity, of the Christmas wassail around the coals and the Christmas glees in church and street. Had Dickens required a *vademecum*, he could have found in this work whatever he might need for his own *Christmas Carol* and for Pickwick's merrymaking with the Wardles.

Another book of Sandys's, *Christmastide*, provides an even more readable account of the holiday festivities of merry England in the olden time; here, too, there is a collection of carols, including several ballad narratives, such as the one telling how the Child Jesus declines to punish the children who refused to play with him because he was "born in an ox's stall." In 1848 Sandys edited for the Percy Society a collection of *Festive Songs*, more secular than sacred. His *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect* (1846) contains a number of ballads, quite various in quality and tenor, among them Southey's amusing *Well of St. Keyne*; this is the story of the magic well, the waters of which assure to the newly wedded husband or wife who first drinks, just that sort of "mastery" which is deprecated in *The Franklin's Tale*; in *The Well of St. Keyne* the wife carries a bottle to church.

Some humorous bits are to be found, too, in Cuthbert Sharpe's *Bishoprick Garland* (1834), a collection of provincial legends, songs, ballads, and other antiquities belonging to the county of Durham. Among the miscellaneous contents are some colliers' songs; the curious definitely localized legend of *The Worme of Lambton*, derived from Surtees; and ballad-like poems attached to local personages. The better-known traditional ballads are represented through texts of *The Rising of the North* and *Rookhope Ryde*. And here appears once more the dubious text of *Lord Ewrie* which Surtees sent to Scott for insertion in the *Minstrelsy*.

With Sharpe's book must be concluded the not very impressive series of the English repositories of valuable popular ballads published during the period while Scott and his clan were reaping such a groaning harvest in Scotland. The relative dearth of good English ballads from this time must be attributed in part to an actual lack in England of the type of ballad defined by Child as traditional, in part to absence of that peculiarly patriotic incentive to collecting that has been observed among the Scots, and in part to the failure of Englishmen in these decades to give earnest attention to this special kind of antiquarian research. And after all, Percy, Ritson, and other Englishmen of an earlier day had picked up much of what was easily available.

In the meantime, there are other phases of the ballad interest during the romantic heyday in England to be taken into consideration. Before going on to these, however, we may look at two or three evidences of the impression which British ballad collecting had made in France, as we have already glanced at several instances of the naturally more active sympathy manifested in Germany. It should be premised that during this period Germans were actively occupied with their native folk-poetry, as indeed they have been so occupied ever since. Frenchmen, on the other hand, did not begin vigorously to exert themselves in behalf of their own folklore until after the middle of the century, when the state took energetic steps and J. J. Ampère, at the official behest, sent out his celebrated *Instructions* to collectors.[1]

In 1825 Baron Loève-Veimars published at Paris a collection entitled *Popular Ballads and Songs*, "from tradition, manuscripts, and scarce editions." It is not to be understood that the editor had himself delved very deeply in the original sources, whatever his use of the scarce editions may have been. Nevertheless, he demonstrates a fairly accurate perception of what the entire movement in Britain had amounted to. In the first place, he makes a division into English ballads and Scottish ballads; in the second place, he has made a good selection of traditional ballads and of imitations, so that a reader in France would get a pretty accurate idea of what a popular ballad was and an impression of the taste and address of some of the better imitative poets. There is no designation of sources for the traditional texts and no critical comment.[2]

Quite another sort of thing is François Michel's neat little special edition of the ballads of *Sir Hugh*, under the title of *Hugues de Lincoln: Recueil de ballades anglo-normandes et écossoises relatives au meurtre de cet enfant commis par les juifs en MCCLV*, published at Paris in 1834. Michel is further remembered as a student of Anglo-Norman literature, as an editor of the *Chanson de Roland*, and as an investigator of the popular poetry of the Basques. Michel's *Hugues de*

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[1] Compare the German with the French entries in Child's "Titles of Ballad Books," *E.S.P.B.*, V, 457 ff. On the history of epic and ballad theory in France during this period and later periods, see Bedier's discussion of *La chanson de Roland*, in his *Légendes épiques*, vol. III.

[2] See also Loève-Veimars's *Ballades, légendes et chants populaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Écosse, par Walter Scott, Thomas Moore, Campbell et les anciens poètes*, Paris, 1825; this work has an Introduction.

Lincoln is a critical and comparative edition of the following texts: a long Anglo-Norman ballad, and the English and Scottish texts of Percy, Gilchrist (ultimately Herd), Jamieson, Pinkerton, Motherwell, and finally a fragment from Brydges's *Restituta*. Michel includes the introductory remarks on the ballad from the British editions whence he draws his texts; besides, he writes a scholarly Introduction of his own and a body of notes calling attention to other literary forms of the Sir Hugh story, and otherwise assisting the reader toward an understanding of the ballads and of the particular points of interest cropping up in such a connection.[1] Michel's book has much the appearance and effect of the pages devoted to an individual ballad number in Child's *Ballads*, and in so far may be regarded as something of a model for later editors.

A striking instance of French interest in British popular poetry is to be discovered in an academic dissertation written for the Faculty of Letters at the Université de France, and published in Paris in 1832. The writer is a Scotchman named Edward Barry, and the title of his paper is *Thèse de littérature sur les vicissitudes et les transformations du cycle populaire de Robin Hood*. Barry proposes two lines of systematic enquiry: What traces are left in the poems of the historic events on which they are based? and, in what manner and in what sense have the ballads undergone alteration through outside influence? His general position on the first of these questions is that Robin Hood represents the Saxon opposition to the Norman invaders. On the second, he finds that the ballads have undergone progressive modifications through the sequence of later historical events, through influences emanating from the principles and practices of chivalry, and to some degree even through Renaissance ideas. He thus appears to understand quite well that the materials he is studying are subject to the vagaries of tradition, on which point he makes further technical comments showing appreciation of the effects of the vicissitudes of transmission upon details of language and metrical form. References demonstrate his knowledge of the work of contemporary German scholars, Jakob Grimm in particular. It is tempting to see in this knowledge an explanation of his tendency to make the Robin Hood ballads so old that he assumes them to have been composed at first in alliterative metre, of which he then attempts to demonstrate surviving traces.

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[1] J. O. Halliwell reprinted Michel's texts in 1849; and in the same year Abraham Hume published a brochure, *Sir Hugh of Lincoln*, with a set of texts and a historical Introduction defending the Jews against unjust aspersion.

Barry's dissertation was reviewed by Thomas Wright in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for January and February, 1837. The reviewer points out, what Barry for that matter admits in his Preface, that the work is based on rather insufficient materials. Barry has not even been able to see the first edition of Ritson's *Robin Hood*, according to his own confession; according to Wright, he shows no acquaintance with Ritson's second edition, which may be excusable since it did not appear before the year in which the dissertation was printed. The most conspicuous feature of the review is probably the opinion that Robin Hood ultimately goes back to a remote and obscure source in Norse mythology, a theory later championed by Kuhn and rejected by Child.[1] Both Barry and his reviewer treat important questions that have engaged the labors of scholars much more effectively since their day.[2]

From this digressive visit abroad we return to England. There we have now to notice some representative cases of English occupation with foreign literatures that touch the ballad in various ways. To the instances discussed in the treatment of the Scottish editors and translators there are English parallels that deserve consideration. The discussion must be confined to a few characteristic and illustrative examples.

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[1] Wright's review was reprinted, with slight changes, in his *Essays*, 1846. On the whole matter, see Child's Introduction to *A Gest of Robyn Hode*, *E. S. P. B.* No. 117.

[2] The persistence of Robin Hood in countless forms of literary reference, casual criticism in the periodicals — particularly as regards the historicity of the outlaw — poetic allusions and more elaborate poetic use, drama and opera may be noted in general here for this period and for succeeding periods. Some of the more conspicuous examples of the Robin Hood literature will be discussed in order in later chapters.

From France there was at this time little expectation of drawing much that would be of service to Englishmen interested in popular poetry. It was of course different with Germany. Just during this period the Germans were most actively engaged in studying their own ancient literature and that of other countries, in making collections of ancient poetry, and in employing these native and foreign materials in the composition of original works. Had there been in England someone capable of transferring these German values into Britain, the gain to folklore would have been considerable. How slight the acquaintance of Englishmen really was with the fundamental aspects of German romanticism, particularly on its scholarly side, may be observed in the case of the man who during the first three decades of the nineteenth century held a prominent position as an exponent of German literature, namely, William Taylor of Norwich. Taylor, the first English translator of *Lenore*, published in 1828–30 his *Historic Survey of German Poetry*, largely based on numerous periodical essays of the preceding thirty years. In this work Taylor gives a degree of attention to Bürger and his translators and imitators, and occasionally presents a translation of a later German ballad. Some of the greater figures of modern German literature he treats at large. But it is surprising that Taylor offers scarcely a hint of knowing anything about the contemporary German revival of popular antiquities and the significant criticism of these things, which to later historians have assumed such imposing proportions. Though there were other Englishmen, like Henry Crabb Robinson, who had a smattering of German lore, Taylor's fragmentary learning, so severely criticized by Carlyle, is not far from being representative of the very imperfect English appreciation of these particular phases of the great German renaissance.[1] The idyllic Gessner and the lurid Kotzebue continued during the early years of the century to denote German literature to Englishmen. A. W. Schlegel was quite justified in contending, in an essay on the European relations of German literature, written as an Introduction to Bothe's *Handbibliothek der deutschen Litteratur* (London, 1825), that the time was ripe for making English readers better acquainted with German letters.[2]

Certain of the minor literatures of Europe fared comparatively well during the period. Old Norse poetry, sponsored by Gray and Cottle, found new adherents. There is Beresford's *Song of the Sun* (1805), with an Introduction advocating greater attention to Norse letters, and Sir W. Drummond's unfinished *Odin* (1817). William Herbert was the most energetic worker of this special vein. His *Select Icelandic Poetry* (1804–06) presents several not altogether inspired translations of Eddic and scaldic verse and bits from the sagas, among them the Eddic *Song of Thrym*, which in its ballad form was to engage the attention of subsequent translators. In his *Translations from the German, Danish, etc.*, published with the above work, will be found several pieces from Gessner, Bürger's *Lenardo and Blandina*, and a translation of a Danish ballad. Herbert later brought out a longer poem, in cantos, entitled *Helga* (1815), drawn from Norse legendary sources, and a shorter narrative poem of like derivation, entitled *Hedin* (1820). Walter Scott, in a review of Herbert's *Miscellaneous Poetry* (1805), quoted in full the above-mentioned Danish ballad of *Sir Ebba* as an example of the similarity between Scandinavian and British ballads; he found occasion as well to damn in no uncertain terms an original ballad by Herbert, called *William Lambert*, as being "not genuine ballad poetry" but a spurious kind, like some of the feebler previous imitations. Although Scott implies that

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[1] On the broader aspects of the German influence on English romanticism, see F. W. Stokoe, *German Influence in the English Romantic Period*, 1926. On Taylor in particular, consult Georg Herzfeld, *William Taylor von Norwich*, 1897.

[2] A. W. Schlegel, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Böcking, VIII, 207 ff.

Herbert is capable of better things, Scott's closing comment on the misshapen ditties of certain of the more flabby balladists is not only excellent criticism of the past but also something of an explanation of the relative dearth of ballad imitations among the more important romantic poets: "It is the very last refuge of those who can do nothing better in the shape of verse; and a man of genius should disdain to invade the province of these dawdling rhymers." [1]

In the same review Scott recommends to Herbert the collection from which Jamieson had drawn his translations from the Danish, the *Kæmpe Viser*. Herbert was not the man for the task. Jamieson's work has been noticed in another place. The champion of the *Kæmpe Viser*, the Danish heroic ballads, was to be no less a person than George Borrow. Borrow, who is said to have owed his exotic predilections in part at least to William Taylor, began to study Danish about 1820. In 1823 he inserted in *The Monthly Magazine* an essay on "Danish Poetry and Ballad Writing." In the meantime he had begun his own translating, not, as he tells the story in *Lavengro*, from the first book of Danish ballads of Anders Vedel (1591) but from several sources dating from the first decades of the nineteenth century, and possibly some from the latter part of the eighteenth. At all events, in April, 1824, he went down to London to look out a publisher. Being unsuccessful at first in this quest, he contented himself for a year or two in turning out for *The Monthly Magazine* a series of articles on "Danish Traditions and Superstitions." In 1826 he issued a part of his fund of Scandinavian ballads and some other poems, under the title of *Romantic Ballads*. A few years afterward he entered into negotiations with John Bowring, who for some time had been surveying mankind with extensive view, to publish a collection of translations from the popular literature and the principal modern poets of Denmark and Norway. This project failed, although the work was announced as about to be published under the joint editorial care of

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[1] Scott, *Miscellaneous Prose Works* (1843), XVII, 118.

Bowring and Borrow, at the end of Bowring's *Poetry of the Magyars* (1830). For nearly fifty years Borrow nourished the hope of getting more of his Danish ballads into print. During the 'sixties he disposed of a few of them to the periodical *Once A Week*, but when he died most of them still awaited publication. In 1913 Mr. T. J. Wise and Mr. C. K. Shorter printed many of them for private circulation. Now most of them have at length been made available in the Norwich edition of Borrow's *Works*.

Borrow's translations, whether in the *Romantic Ballads* or in the Norwich *Works*, are relatively faithful renderings of the originals, but most of them have no high poetic value. Allan Cunningham, to whom Borrow turned for comfort in the period of his early tribulations, liked Borrow's translations better than Jamieson's and gave his correspondent some advice as to methods and details. The most striking point in Borrow's essay of 1823 on "Danish Poetry and Ballad Writing" is his theory that the ballad arose in Norway and thence spread through Europe with the swarming of the Northern nations. Borrow's whole attitude toward the ballads was that of the enthusiast.[1]

A work of collaboration between Borrow and John Bowring, a sort of substitute for their proposed but never executed *Songs of Scandinavia*, is to be seen in a longish article in *The Foreign Quarterly Review* for June and October, 1830, on "Danish and Norwegian Literature"; Bowring wrote the critical comments and Borrow supplied a number of translations of Scandinavian ballads and other poetry by way of illustration. In 1835 Borrow published at St. Petersburgh a small book of translations from thirty languages, with the title of *Targum* (1835). In polyglot activities, however, he was no match for Bowring. This linguist and diplomat turned out a large number of books devoted to English renderings from foreign literatures. Among those of special value for the present purpose are his *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain* (1824), embracing English versions of a large group of named Spanish writers and a selection of ballads and romances from the more popular *romanceros* and *cancioneros*, and his *Servian Popular Poetry* (1827), with a dedication to Dr. Vuk Stephanovitch, whose collections of Servian ballads won the unstinted praise of Jakob Grimm for their deeply popular qualities. Bowring also introduced to Englishmen specimens of Russian and Magyar poets.

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[1] The ballads in the Norwich edition were prepared for publication by H. G. Wright. Selections have been printed in Borrow's *Ballads of All Nations*, ed. R. B. Johnson, 1928. On Borrow's occupation with the subject in general, see H. G. Wright's article in his *Studies in Anglo-Scandinavian Literary Relations*, Bangor, 1919, and his "George Borrow's Translations from the Scandinavian Languages," in the periodical *Edda*, XVI (1921), Pt. 3, 137–145; and my own article on "George Borrow and His Danish Ballads," in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXII, No. 2 (April, 1923), 262 ff. In Mr. Wise and Mr. Shorter's edition of Borrow's *Ballads and Other Poems* "for private circulation," 1913, will be found some valuable comments by Sir Edmund Gosse, with which I have ventured to disagree only in details relating to Borrow's Danish sources. Borrow's article on "Danish Poetry and Ballad Writing" was first printed in *The Monthly Magazine*, LVI (November 1, 1823), 306–309; see the volumes of *Miscellanies* in the Norwich edition.

Coleridge's acquaintance with German letters, while otherwise of great importance, had no large bearing on the study of ballads. On the whole, Coleridge was neither a ballad critic nor a ballad poet. His criticism seems to have been confined to the single outburst on "the grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spens," in the ode on *Dejection*. It may be plausibly argued that his best criticism lies implicit in the composition of the *Ancient Mariner* and in two or three further approximations to the ballad manner. If there be any reason in such a point of view, it may be contended either that he found the ballads not wholly worthy of imitation or that he considered them, as he considered the *Ancient Mariner*, inimitable. I take it for granted that Coleridge could have imitated the style and especially the narrative management of the popular ballads more closely had he been disposed to do so. Had he been more inclined toward actual imitation, he would no doubt have practised the art more frequently, since the brevity and the constructive simplicity of this type of poetry would have lent themselves admirably to his cursory and flashing mode of composition. He was a sufficient master of the appropriate diction and the minor technical devices. He did not speak out more often as a balladist because he did not care to speak out in that fashion. Professor Lowes has demonstrated the variety of figments and pigments that constitute the *Ancient Mariner.* Even without that analysis, means would be at hand in the formal and material aspects of the poem itself, not to speak of its immaterial qualities, to separate it from the popular ballad. There is no denying the fact of a narrative poem written in the ballad stanza and measure in a style smacking of the antique, and in a spirit suggesting the eeriness of the Bürger school. In so far the *Ancient Mariner* may be said to owe its origin to the ballad, and to be an imitation of the ballad. As a work of art the poem is at the antipodes from the popular ballad because Coleridge himself stands removed at an Antarctic distance even from so apparently sophisticated a ballad writer as the author, whoever he was, of the classic *Edward.* In the elaborateness of the spectral machinery, in the metaphysical rather than naïvely supernatural tone, in the evangelical moral, which Coleridge himself years afterward declared unfitting,[1] the *Ancient Mariner* is something less and something infinitely more than a ballad.

Christabel has sometimes been associated with the *Ancient Mariner* as belonging to the ballad classification; with more justice the two might be drawn further up the scale as romances, in which case they could be conveniently grouped, if grouped they must be, as ballad-romances, surely more deserving of such a designation than any of Scott's metrical romances. In one of his later announcements that he intended to finish *Christabel,* Coleridge informs Thomas Allsop that when this consummation comes about he means to extend the poem, giving it new characters and incidents and so meeting the wants of that "reading public" which had fed fat on the pabulum of Scott.[1]

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[1] S. T. Coleridge, *The Table Talk and Omniana* (ed. Ashe, 1923), p. 87 (May 31, 1830).

Fragmentary, like *Christabel*, are the two poems *The Three Graves* and *The Dark Ladie.* Both of these have the marks of the ballad. *The Three Graves*, the plot of which is quite suitable to ballad composition, is rather long even in its truncated form, while the catastrophe is parsimoniously vague. *The Dark Ladie* might have become a good ballad. Coleridge's most successful piece of work in this general kind, always excepting the *Ancient Mariner*, is *Alice du Clos*, an *Othello* in little. This poem shows what the ballad might be in the hands of a good poet who would take the pains to deal with it freely and sincerely. *The Devil's Thoughts* is excellent in its own satiric vein. The differences in form and contents of these various ballad approximations make it clear that to Coleridge the ballad was an experimental and tentative medium. The one really successful experiment, the *Ancient Mariner*, burst its ballad bounds almost entirely and emerged as something else.

Wordsworth says just enough about his indebtedness to the ballad to make us wish he had expressed himself more fully. What we have is nevertheless invaluable in showing the outlines of the relation between Wordsworth's early theories of poetic diction, his earlier practice of poetry, and the ballads. The supplementary essay of 1815 supplies the principal links in the chain. His general statement that the *Reliques* redeemed English poetry and had a salutary influence particularly on himself and his friends fixes the existence of such a chain. The various links may be traced indirectly through his judgments, from the hostile to the favorable, on various literary phenomena: Macpherson's *Ossian* is unnatural and unnational; Chatterton, whom Wordsworth associates surprisingly rather with *Ossian* than with the ballads, was misled into imitation of Macpherson; Percy's ballad imitation, good of its kind, concedes too much to the stylistic tastes of his day; in the cases where Percy new-modelled pieces in the *Reliques*, he strikes "true simplicity and genuine pathos." Ergo, the *Reliques* represent something of an ideal of simplicity and truth. Bad *Ossian*: good *Reliques*: wicked Dr. Johnson, who made fun of Percy's book! The argument is previously clinched in the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* by the classic collocation of Johnson's "hat in hand" parody and the "hand in hand" stanza of *The Babes in the Wood*. Though the "elder poets," from Chaucer down, are to be granted a large share of influence in the formation of Wordsworth's — and Coleridge's — poetical principles, the ballads stand fast in their own rank and order.

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[1] Thomas Allsop, *Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, I, 94.

In the Preface of 1815, Wordsworth does not mention the ballad—in his six classes of poetry—under the general head of narrative poetry, but under the head of lyric. It is true that among the varieties of the narrative type he includes the "tale" and the "romance," both of which terms were often used by his contemporaries to denote poems that we now should count as ballads. Wordsworth's classification of 1815, however, is important for the backward light it throws on the famous title, *Lyrical Ballads*, *With a Few Other Poems*. We have no certainty as to just which of the pieces belong with the "few other poems"; but it is not difficult to see that most of the numbers in the collection cannot with full propriety be called ballads or ballad imitations, as the term was commonly understood at that time. Yet some of them are clearly related to the ballad in narrative tenor, in simplicity of structure, in popularity of diction, and in certain technical tricks, like repetition of phrase. In an ascending order from greater simplicity to greater elaboration, the poems *We Are Seven*, *Goody Blake and Harry Gill*, and *The Idiot Boy* will serve to exemplify various types of ballad. *We Are Seven* has some likeness to the traditional pieces constructed upon a series of questions and answers. *Goody Blake* *and Harry Gill* has more or less remote congeners among "malediction" ballads. *The Idiot Boy* approaches in method certain of the more leisurely popular ballads built upon a directly progressive narrative pattern. In these three illustrative cases it will be observed that the lyric and descriptive elements are elaborated as the narrative element becomes more pronounced, but the lyric and descriptive elaboration is much more conspicuous than is the case with any popular ballad of corresponding length and narrative complexity. The word "lyrical" in the title of the collection sufficiently accounts for the deviations of Wordsworth's poems from the narrative starkness of the traditional ballad, in so far as there may here be a question of deviation from a model.

Wordsworth's tendency to develop the hidden significance of a train of events rather than the external and obvious meaning is even more plainly apparent in the longer narratives that have associations with the ballad. This is notably the case with *Peter Bell*. This poem the author calls "a tale," by which designation he no doubt signifies something that bears a relation to the longer ballad imitations named "metrical tales" by a number of other writers during this period. The temptation to burlesque this particular poem, so overpowering as it proved to be at the time,[1] was due not so much to the ballad qualities as to Wordsworth's overlaying of a simple narrative with a nearly mystical significance. In the case of *The White Doe of Rylstone*, which may properly be included here by reason of the connection of the poem with the ballad, *The Rising of the North*, and with the local tradition of the White Doe, the author expressly discounts the importance of external event and catastrophe in comparison with what he calls the "moral and spiritual" values. This poem offers little foothold for the parodist. Whereas the beast of burden in *Peter Bell* is made to stagger under its evangelical load, the White Doe is neither belabored nor beridden. The narrative carries its own moral and scarcely requires the poet's delicate emphasis on Emily's duty,

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[1] See J. H. Reynolds's *Peter Bell*, 1819, and Sir Edmund Gosse's *Gossip in a Library*.

> In resignation to abide
> The shock, and finally secure
> O'er pain and grief a triumph pure.

Among what may be styled ballad reminiscences in Wordsworth's poetry we may glance finally at his commemorative verses to the Border-minstrel, the Ettrick Shepherd, his lines to Rob Roy and the sonnet in which Peter Bell is associated with both Rob Roy and Robin Hood.

On September 5, 1798, Southey wrote to William Taylor: "Have you seen a volume of *Lyrical Ballads*, etc.? . . . Coleridge's ballad of 'The Ancient Mariner' is, I think, the clumsiest attempt at German sublimity I ever saw. Many of the others are very fine."[1] However mistaken we may now hold Southey's judgment to have been in this particular case, his erroneous opinion must by no means be permitted to establish a prepossession against his own skill as a balladist. Southey had no wholesale contempt for German sublimity; he was indeed in his earlier efforts a disciple and even an emulator of Bürger. He is found employed in ballad-writing as early as 1796, continues the practice energetically for several years, and in fact reverts occasionally to the ballad form almost throughout his career. His poems of this category, by reason of their variety of length and of subject are unusually acceptable illustrations of the possibilities of this type of narrative verse.

Among the earliest of his productions that he saw fit to preserve in later editions of his works, such examples as *Donica* and *Rudiger*, both of the year 1796, exhibit something of the more gruesome qualities of the German *diablerie*; yet even these are marked by a relative economy in grisly perquisites and by a laudable avoidance of rhetorical excrescences that might impede the flow of narrative. These good qualities are especially remarkable, in spite of the forbidding theme, in his ballad of Bishop Hatto (1799); and his *Bishop Bruno* (1798) may with some justice be described as a more refined Bishop Hatto. In *The Old Woman of Berkeley* we see the extravaganza in full career. If this ballad has been rightly regarded as Southey's best, the favorable judgment must rest not only on the merits of the piece as a running narrative but even more on the poet's skill in avoiding the inherent peril of tumbling into the slough of the ridiculous. The ludicrous elements lie quite near the surface, as Southey himself has demonstrated admirably in his own parody of the piece, *The Surgeon's Warning*. The fact that Southey was able to write both of these ballads provides an apt means of appraising the balance of qualities in him that made him a good balladist. We are not likely today to be troubled by the scruples of William Taylor, as expressed in a letter to Southey, dated March 25, 1799: "Notwithstanding the wonderful excellence of the parody, I am half angry with you for undertaking it; the original is not recurred to again with so much sensation after the introduction of ludicrous associations."[1] The sensations of the modern reader are likely to be agreeably heightened through allowing one of the pieces to comment upon the other.

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[1] J. W. Robberds, *A Memoir of . . . William Taylor of Norwich*, I, 223.

Southey furnished imitations for both Scott's *Minstrelsy* and Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*. It will be remembered that Scott shortly became uneasy at his own association with Lewis. Southey, with his bifocal view of the ballads from the very first, was able to survive the storm of ridicule that beat upon the devoted head of Lewis, and to carry the ballad forward after most of his greater contemporaries had abandoned it. As late as 1829, not to specify intervening cases, serious and comic, he wrote the long ballad narrative, *All For Love*. His early interest in writing on the subject of Robin Hood saw only fragmentary fulfilment.

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[1] J. W. Robberds, *A Memoir of . . . William Taylor of Norwich*, I, 266.

Southey is known, too, for his translations of Spanish ballads and of *The Chronicle of the Cid.* He made relatively little use of the Cid ballads for this work. Hispanists perhaps remember him in this connection because of his rather severe judgment upon the value of the heroic ballads of Spain almost as much as for the general virtues of his *Chronicle.*

The scope of the present treatise will not permit of an extensive examination of even the more important poets of the period who showed ballad influences in their original work. The three who have just been reviewed are the most conspicuous among the writers of this class; each of them differed from the other in his use of the ballads much as he differed in other respects. A cursory view of other romantic poets will indicate that ballads had no great, or at least no very lasting, influence on their original compositions. Yet it is difficult to dip into the shelves at any point among the writers of this generation without finding at any rate a passing recognition of the ballads. Even Byron, from whom little might be expected in that kind, had his youthful fling in the spectral *Oscar of Alva.* Shelley's *Peter Bell the Third* must be recognized, if for no other reason, for its connection with earlier pieces of the same name. His *Masque of Anarchy* belongs to the category in little more than outward appearance and a suggestion of story. Keats's *Isabella* and *Eve of St. Agnes* belong in the related field of the romances; *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* is a distinguished ballad; his lines on *Robin Hood* form a valedictory not merely to the bold outlaw himself but to the times and conditions in which ballad-writing of the simple narrative sort had an accepted place. Leigh Hunt, who touched the ballad strings at various stages of his activity, wrote the two good narrative imitations *Wallace and Fawdon* and *Kilspindie* in the last decade of his life. It is of some interest to the student of the implicit critical views of the romantics to find that when Hunt dealt with Robin Hood, his narratives on that theme were composed for children; his other compliments to the greenwood hero are lyrics. Hunt also used the ballad medium for comic and satiric purposes, again something of a negative commentary on his opinion of the general utility of the form for serious poetry. Tom Moore tried the old style rather successfully in *The Ring*, *The Lake of the Dismal Swamp*, and *The High-borne Ladye*; the lighter vein in *The Sylph's Ball*; the ironical and humorous in *The Three Doctors* — with respects to Southey — and various pieces of occasional and personal verse. Many of the things he calls ballads are rather lyric than narrative, a perfectly proper use of the term, but going beyond the purlieus of this study.

The better-known poets of the period turned by preference in their narratives to the larger freedom of the octosyllabic couplet and various stanzaic vehicles for means to carry on more ambitious verse romances and longer epics. If the greater romantic writers could not or would not give new and vigorous life to the ballad, who should do so? The relative scarcity of ballads in their pages, however, does not disclose the whole or perhaps even the most important part of the influence of the ballad on the romantic movement. Aside from the formal aspects, the ballad had its share in the "renascence of wonder" and other features that have commonly been associated with romanticism. Of all the generally recognized traits of the popular ballad, its objectivity and impersonality no doubt made the smallest appeal to the new school.

Many minor writers found easy models in the ballad stanza and the straightforward course of the narrative. Among such works may be mentioned the imitations in Joanna Baillie's *Metrical Legends* (1821), John Stagg's *Cumbrian Minstrel* (1821), Dovaston's *Fitz-Gwarine*, and James Montgomery's *Wanderer of Switzerland*. As a curiosity may be recorded the long and pious *Narrative of the Life of James Downing*, a blind man, written throughout in the ballad stanza. The popularity of the form among smaller versifiers, as Scott noted in his review of Herbert's poems, was not altogether a good sign.

The whole history of ballad imitation, from the time of Percy and Johnson to the days of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, shows that the ballad had an almost fatal susceptibility to degeneracy in the hands of feebler poets and to parody even in the hands of the very best. Why is it, then, that so few of the accepted traditional ballads even suggest the ridiculous? There is no answer, unless it be that the traditional process affixes a stamp of genuine simplicity that is well-nigh, if not wholly, inimitable.[1] However that may be, there is much true criticism of the imitators during this period in the parodies that have already been noticed. Some further examination of this subject will help to put the English history of the ballad in a right position.

Reference has already been made in various connections to Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*, to the few altered texts of traditional ballads appearing in its pages, and to the numerous imitations, of the worse as well as the better sort, from the hands of Lewis, Scott, Leyden, Southey, and several more writers. As indicative of the English attitude rather than the Scottish, it is to be observed that Lewis introduces a parody, written by himself, of his most famous *Alonzo the Brave and the Fair Imogine*. The parody, *Giles the Grave and Brown Sally Green*, is not the best possible burlesque; in fact, Scott thought that Lewis's sense of humor was not robust. At any rate, Lewis had opened wide the door — already more than ajar — to parody. It came, in the *Tales of Terror* (1801), published in the same year, but after the *Tales of Wonder*. Owing to the total misapprehension of the history and the nature of the *Tales of Terror* by Henry Morley, in his joint edition of the *Tales of Terror* and the *Tales of Wonder* in the Universal Library, a word of explanation is necessary at this point. The *Tales of Wonder* was meant originally to bear the title *Tales of Terror*. Hence the title of Scott's *Apology for Tales of Terror* (1799), published in the interim of waiting for the book which eventually appeared under the title of the *Tales of Wonder* (1801). The *Tales of Terror* followed very shortly. It has nothing to do with Lewis or with Scott, and has no connection, except that of parody, with the *Tales of Wonder*. Morley not only puts the two together as the work of Lewis, but through his omission of one of the tales, explained as due to the loss of some pages in his copy of the *Tales of Terror*, obscures the clearly burlesque character of this work. The tale omitted, entitled *The Wolf-King*, is a contortion into a grimly humorous ballad, of the story of *Little Red Riding Hood*. In a prefatory note to this number in the *Tales of Terror*, the reader is informed that the ballad is "translated from the Danish of the author of *The Water-King*, *etc.*, and respectfully inscribed to M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P. as an humble attempt to imitate his excellent version of that celebrated ballad." A footnote explains ironically that the title "king" is used in the Northern countries as a term for a fiend. Other notes make it perfectly clear that this ballad is a parody. Morley has omitted further the telltale note to the ballad of *Grim, King of Ghosts*, in the same collection, which reads as follows, "This tale, as will be immediately seen by all tale-readers, is written in imitation of the *Cloud-King*, and dedicated (of course) to M. G. Lewis, Esq." If there is any difficulty in seeing in Morley's edition the burlesque character of the *Tales of Terror*, there is no such difficulty in the original edition. Some of the titles betray the spirit of the publication, as for instance, *The Scullion Sprite* and *The Mud-King*. To the last-named are affixed footnotes in Latin, quite in the manner of the "black-letter" annotations in Mathias's *Pursuits of Literature*. The value of this whole bundle of fine parodies lies in an imitation so close that without the adventitious aid of the occasional notes, the subtitles, and the like, the nature of the whole performance might easily be, and indeed has been, quite misunderstood.[1]

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[1] See Andrew Lang's challenging imitations in his *Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy*, pp. 151–157.

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[1] For a thorough ventilation of the bibliographical situation as to the *Tales of Terror*, see G. P. Johnson, in the *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical So-*

A good view of the manner in which ballads during the first decades of the century contributed to public amusement, may be had from the three large volumes of *The Universal Songster* (1834). This collection, bearing the subtitle of *The Museum of Mirth*, is devoted to songs of almost every possible description: ancient, Scottish, Irish, amatory, Bacchanalian, sentimental, and what not. It is the use of the ballad form in many of these songs that is of special note here. In short, the ballad as such is treated with anything but veneration; we here see the ballad as it was given back to the "folk" by the public entertainers. Needless to say, there are burlesques on the spectral ballads and other standard types, sentimental and comic ballads without number. Another evidence of the ease with which this particular kind of verse deviates from sobriety and truth! Through it all runs a dash of the good humor of the Dibdins.

No one can see the history of English romantic balladry without putting on for a time the spectacles of T. L. Peacock. It would be difficult to find anywhere more jovial and more salutary criticism than his. It comes to the surface in his essays, it scintillates through his novels, it lies patent to the eye in his verse. Consider his *Four Ages of Poetry*. In the age of iron the warrior becomes a chief, the successful chief a king; the king buys with liquor the services of a bard; and so poetry has its origin in panegyric. Then follows the age of gold, in which poets sing the deeds of the ancestors of their chiefs; thus traditional national poetry comes into being, as in the age of Homer. With the silver age arises the poetry of civilized life, partly original and partly imitative. Lastly, there is the age of brass, in which poets revert to the crudities of the age of iron, missing only its original simplicity and energy. Four similar ages are to be traced in modern poetry: the iron age of troubadours and minstrels, the golden age of

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ciety, Session of 1893–94. The important items, as Mr. Johnson arranges them, have the following sequence: *An Apology for Tales of Terror*, 1799; Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*, 2 vols., 1801; 2d ed., 1 vol., 1801; *Tales of Terror*, 1801; 2d ed., with one new piece, 1808.

the Renaissance, the silver age of classical authority, and the brazen age — Peacock's own — cultivating "the phantasy only at the expense of the memory and the reason." In this last age the poet wallows "in the rubbish of departed ignorance"; Scott digs up the cattle-stealers of the Border, Southey wades through old chronicles, Wordsworth "picks up village legends from old women and sextons," and Coleridge turns out "visions in verse, in which the quadruple elements of sexton, old woman, Jeremy Taylor, and Emanuel Kant are harmonised into a delicious poetical compound."

In changing shapes the romantics here named and others with them weave in and out of Peacock's inconsequential novels. Often they enliven a conversation with fervid comments on the sublimity of ballad poetry or interrupt the flow of discourse under the pressure of inspiration compelling them to sit down and write a ballad on the spot. Under convivial stress of emotion they burst out into communal singing. There sits Mr. Flosky composing "a dismal ballad" by the light of a solitary candle, now and then sprinkling salt on the flame to make it burn blue. There is Mr. Derrydown insisting that *Chevy Chase* "gives a much deeper insight into the truth of things" than does *Paradise Lost.* There is Sir Oran Outan, the simulacrum of Lord Monboddo's arboreal advocate of the natural origin of speech and song. There is Mr. Chainmail, defending the superiority of the poetry of the twelfth century, against all comers. It is impossible to do more than suggest the delightful sallies that enliven Peacock's pages on this one subject. The upshot is that the ballads are by no means sacrosanct in the Attic eyes of the novelist. In *Maid Marian* he devotes a whole novel to the Robin Hood cycle, with *divertissements* in verse; this work was made into an opera by Planché. *The Misfortunes of Elphin* provided Peacock with a vehicle for purveying Welsh traditional poetry. Among his own imitations, *Sir Hornbook,* "a grammatico-allegorical ballad," and *Sir Proteus* are ingenious. *Sir Proteus,* which the author need scarcely have described as "a satirical ballad," is excellent criticism of the entire romantic movement and of the ballad phase in particular. Satire aside, special mention should be made of Peacock's pretty essay, *The Last Day of Windsor Forest*, in which a modern rustic Robin Hood and his merry men shoot the king's deer.

Altogether, the ballad picture in England during this period, with its enthusiastic imitation and its equally enthusiastic parody and satire, is quite different from the contemporary picture in Scotland, where real traditional relics were so eagerly gathered and so highly venerated that the shamming of antiques came to be regarded almost as a patriotic oblation.

CHAPTER V

SEVENTY YEARS OF BRITISH VARIA

He hath songs for man or woman, of all sizes; no milliner can so fit his customers with gloves.

The Winter's Tale, Act IV, scene 4.

WITH the passing of the first three or four decades of the nineteenth century the romantic era of the ballad comes to something like a conclusion. Thereupon follows the Victorian age, which, if not excellent and indispensable, was surely industrious and useful. Editors and commentators continue their work in a spirit lacking perhaps in careless rapture but marked on the other hand by more accurate scholarly perception and a wider understanding of the position of the ballads in the whole scheme of English literature. This gradual gain in perspective and what may be called scientific aptitude keeps pace with and indeed depends upon the concomitant march of linguistic and literary learning. At the beginning of the century British knowledge of Old English and Middle English language and letters was, if not a vain thing, at any rate no very admirable thing. The situation toward the end of the century was wholly changed. A glance at the outstanding phenomenon of the *New English Dictionary* is one illuminating evidence of what had been taking place in the intervening decades. In that one work is to be discovered in grandiose epitome much of what British scholarship has learned of the whole history of the English language and literature and of foreign languages and literatures. During the century the science[1] of folklore, approaches to which had been discernible in earlier periods, attained a name,[1] universal affiliations, and some share of credit among intellectual disciplines. It is against this vast linguistic and literary background that the erstwhile humble and despised ballad is to be viewed in the space of years between the death of Scott and the close of Child's labors.

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[1] The words *science* and *scientific*, sometimes used in these pages for the sake of convenience, are intended to be understood in a somewhat archaic sense, as having reference to a "body of knowledge"; there is no suggestion of trenching on the special vocabulary of the "exact" sciences.

There is no need to distinguish sharply during this time between the work of Scotsman and Englishman. It came to be realized more and more that the Tweed was after all only a "wan water" such as many a ballad hero and heroine had managed to cross in the business of romance and which even crusty editors and critics found it possible to cross and recross in the business on which their hobby horses carried them about. The growing international aspects of every sort of scholarship had their influence in drawing all Britons into closer compact. In the survey of this rather long period, therefore, national differences will have less weight than other considerations.

The purpose of this chapter is to sketch the main outlines of collecting, editing, and commentary throughout the remainder of the century. More particularly, the aim will be to review the remaining important works that preceded the beginning of Child's enterprises and those that were going on while he was engaged with his own task. In this way it may be possible to set forth the general drift of the movement in Great Britain and at the same time to lay the foundation for the special discussion of Child's own activities in relation to his predecessors and contemporaries and to those men in particular who were more immediately associated with him through direct assistance and friendly counsels.

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[1] W. J. Thoms proposed the designation *folklore* in the *Athenæum*, August 22, 1846. Karl Weinhold, following Reinhold Köhler, some forty years later militated against the term *folklore* and what he considered its amateurish connotations; Weinhold advocated the term *Volkskunde* and the stricter scientific method he associated with the word. See his program for *Volkskunde* in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, xx (1889), 1 ff., and his "Zur Einleitung," in the first number of the periodical succeeding the above, the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Völkskunde*. The two terms, meanwhile, are not synonymous; and *folklore* at present by no means implies the unscientific study of *Volkskunde*.

A brief survey of the early history of publications relating to *Beowulf* will give an impression of what there was to be done in the first decades of the century and what was actually done in this special field. After the notice of the Cotton Manuscript by Wanley in 1705, something more than one hundred years passed without further action. In 1815 the Danish scholar Thorkelin published his imperfect text of the original accompanied with a less than perfect Latin translation. Among the first to discover the defects in Thorkelin's work was another Dane, N. F. S. Grundtvig, the father of Svend Grundtvig, the later ballad editor. In 1820 the elder Grundtvig published in Copenhagen a Danish translation of the poem in rhymed verse. His introduction to the volume bears witness to a pretty sound conception of what the epic was. Both Thorkelin and Grundtvig may be pardoned for somewhat exaggerating the Danish character of the English poem. W. Grimm should perhaps also be pardoned for inserting a description of *Beowulf* in his *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829), since he only meant, and expressly says, that the Anglo-Saxons belonged to the *deutsch*[1] race. In 1833 and 1835 Kemble published his two editions of the *Beowulf*, and in 1837 an English translation. In 1839 came Leo's *Beowulf*, and in 1840 Ettmüller's, both presenting the subject from a decidedly German point of view. In 1841 N. F. S. Grundtvig, in a critical review[2] of *Beowulf* scholarship down to that date upbraids the English for their long neglect of the epic and the Germans for a tendency to appropriate it. He justly points out his own deserts and those of Thorkelin in making this great poem known to the modern "Gothic" world.

Several matters of some moment are bound up with this recital of the resuscitation of the queller of Grendel. One thing is that Englishmen did not know their own national epic till one third of the nineteenth century had passed. Another is, that international relations are involved in the contents of the poem and also in its scholarly history. The association of Englishmen, Scandinavians, and Germans in the treatment of this one literary monument is prophetic of a collaboration, not always equally suave and amiable, between these three groups in the further elucidation not only of *Beowulf* but of a thousand kindred linguistic and literary problems that have profitably occupied the energies of Germanic savants down to this day. A point of specific interest is that the elder Grundtvig's concern with Anglo-Saxon literature had something to do with his son Svend's later devotion to English and Scandinavian balladry; of which more in another place.

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[1] The Grimms and their followers cannot be wholly exculpated of begging the question in their intentional and persistent use of the word *deutsch* to signify what is now separately denoted as "German" on the one hand and as "Germanic" on the other (*deutsch: germanisch*).

[2] In Barfod's *Brage og Idun*, a Danish quarterly (1841), Pt. 4, 481–538.

To return to definitely English ground. Belated though the discovery was, in the year after the death of Scott, Kemble introduced to British readers a new and splendid world of English life and letters. Other phases of Old English literature being already known, Chaucer and the metrical romances having long been appreciated, the whole course of the literature of the nation was thus laid open to further investigation. The later developments grew naturally and steadily from these foundations. The way was prepared for a fruitful studious comparison of all the written and oral deliverances of the poets and sages of Britain. It is hardly necessary at this day to argue that English traditional ballads cannot be understood without reference to *Beowulf* and Chaucer and the metrical romances. The notable conquests all along the line cannot be traced in detail here. It is possible and advisable, however, to make a somewhat closer connection between the general advance of antiquarian, linguistic, and literary scholarship and the particular study of the ballads. Such a connection is perhaps most conveniently made through the medium of the large number of printing clubs and learned societies that came into being at different stages during the century; some of these were of service to the study of folklore indirectly but no less really, and others had the special purpose of facilitating enquiries directly aimed at popular traditions and, even more narrowly, at popular poetry.

Among the learned societies which were already functioning at the beginning of the century, special mention may be made of the Society of Antiquaries of London; the Miscellaneous Tracts published by this organization during the nineteenth century represent advances of learning in fields that trench at many places upon the smaller domain of folklore. A like position was maintained by the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, founded in 1823, occupied a broad ground of interest. Add to these the Royal Irish Academy, the institution of which goes back to 1785. Of further importance are the provincial societies in all parts of the United Kingdom, which increased in numbers and usefulness with the passage of the new century. All of these groups, regardless of their special purposes, extended the boundaries of knowledge in departments that eventually paid some sort of tribute to the investigators of popular antiquities.

Of greater direct service were the printing clubs that began their activities in the first half of the nineteenth century. The very names of most of these associations carry black-letter memories. Roxburghe, Bannatyne, Maitland, Surtees, Abbotsford, Camden, Percy — what amateur of traditional lore can read these names without feeling a tingling at the nostrils from the aromatic dust of old folios! No wonder that T. F. Dibdin and George Isted disputed the honor of having founded the Roxburghe Club, which, from its beginnings in 1812, issued a long list of choice bibliographical curiosities, with such titles as *The Roxburghe Garland*, *Cock Lorell's Boat*, *Le Morte Arthur*, and *A Little Boke of Ballads*. Sir Walter himself founded the Bannatyne Club in 1823 and presented Lady Anne Barnard's ballad of *Auld Robin Gray*; among later printings for this club are the *Memorials of George Bannatyne* and William Dauney's charming collection of *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, deciphered from the Skene Manuscript and ably illustrated by Dauney's essay on the music and the musical instruments of Scotland. To the Maitland Club, organized in 1828, we owe various good old romances and miscellaneous Scottish memorabilia. The Surtees Society and the Abbotsford Club, both dating from 1834, increased the tally of valuable titles of romantic and historical materials. The Camden Society, beginning in 1838, did a noble work on the historical and generally antiquarian side. Its publications have been of much use to the student of literature. Here we have, for instance, *The Latin Poetry of Walter Mapes* and *G. Mapes de Nugis Curialium*, *The Diary of John Dee*, some *Thornton Romances*, and the *Promptorium Parvulorum*. Under the ballad rubric we find Wright's *Political Songs of England*. The above specifications can only suggest the significant place these societies and clubs came to occupy in the redemption of an ancient inheritance. Not one of the volumes issued by these organizations but had at least a potential bearing on the investigation of ballads and whatever else in the course of time came to be embraced in the widening grasp of folklore.[1]

With the Percy Society, founded in 1840, we come to an organization the special purpose of which was to bring before the public old ballads or works serving to illustrate that type of literature. Some of the numbers in this series have already been mentioned in other connections, such as Sandys's *Festive Songs*. Editors encountered at an earlier stage appear again, as in the case of Croker's collection of ballads on the *Revolution in Ireland of 1688*, his *Kerry Pastoral*, and his *Keen of the South of Ireland*. Many of the titles in the series are devoted to political and historical verse of a type that has not generally been counted in the special group of the "traditional" or "ancient" and therefore does not come within the narrower limits of this enquiry; it will happen, however, now and then that some old fellow gets in among the boys, that among the occasional songs some version will turn up of the sort of things that have been admitted to Child's canon. Among the collections of this more miscellaneous kind may be mentioned Halliwell's *Early Naval Ballads of England* and Wright's *Political Ballads*. There is hardly a number in the whole series issued by this society that has not some more than usually close relation to folklore. The books that are not specially devoted to popular verse indicate that not only this whole group of antiquaries but the public in general have acquired a broader view of what properly belongs to the study and appreciation of the particular sort of narrative poetry that we are here concerned with. Not to speak of editions of romances, which already have long enjoyed a prescriptive right to inclusion, such purlieus are found represented as are sufficiently denoted by the titles: *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, *A Collection of Proverbs and Popular Sayings*, and *A Dialogue of Witches and Witchcraft*. Nearer still to our confined limits come Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes of England*, Collier's *Robin Goodfellow*, and Wright's *Old Christmas Carols*.

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[1] For a conspectus of the history of the learned societies and the clubs, see A. Hume's *Learned Societies and Printing Clubs*, as supplemented by A. I. Evans, London, 1853. Since 1884, we have the *Year Book* of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland.

The only items in the Percy Society list that strictly belong to our field are the two collections by Dixon: the *Scottish Traditional Versions of Ancient Ballads* and the *Ancient Ballads and Songs*. The first of these will be recognized as the collection that Buchan hawked about through many weary years.[1] Dixon, assisted by Jerdan, published only a selection from Buchan's whole store, it having been found on inspection that certain of Buchan's pieces were not suitable for general publication. Dixon, however, has come to the conclusion that the numbers selected have genuine popular quality, a conclusion that may appear somewhat surprising in view of his having accepted Robert Chambers's scruples as to the traditional character of many of the long-recognized romantic ballads. The editor's critical comments are not of the highest value. His other collection, made up in part from oral sources and in part from various printed texts and manuscripts, does not represent a very pure stream of tradition. Dixon makes quite a point of arguing for the reception of such of the pieces as have come from the peasantry, an apology which later Danish collectors, for example, would have found reason to shun.

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[1] Svend Grundtvig found occasion to rebuke Dixon severely for his treatment of Buchan in this collection. Buchan, says Grundtvig, "is the man who has rescued, and for the first time published, more traditionary ballad versions than any other antiquary in Great Britain that we know of." Buchan, he continues, was no more inaccurate as an editor than most of the other British editors; Dixon has treated him slightingly. See *Notes and Queries* (July 14, 1855), No. 298, pp. 21–22.

Considering the high value of the publications of the Percy Society, it is unfortunate that circumstances conspired to bring about its dissolution in 1853. Some of the members grouped themselves together to form the Warton Club, which during its brief career continued the activities of the antecedent organization.

Aside from the work of Child, the labors of the Ballad Society represent the greatest single enterprise in English balladry during the century. From the beginning of the task in 1868 to its conclusion some thirty years afterward the burden was chiefly carried by three men, F. J. Furnivall, William Chappell, and J. W. Ebsworth. Furnivall explains in an early circular of the society that this organization and its comprehensive program grew out of the publication, under the care of Furnivall and Hales, of the *Percy Folio Manuscript.* That being the case, and the publication of the famous manuscript being to no inconsiderable degree due to the instigation of Child, it is not difficult to see some reason in Furnivall's deferring to the wishes of Child in having the society issue first a brace of volumes devoted to ballads from manuscripts. Although these texts, and indeed most of the subsequent texts brought out under the same auspices were from their period, their subjects, and their general character not of the special kind that Child was seeking, their value to him and to other students of the ballad, to historians, to antiquaries, cannot be lightly appraised. It may be as well to state here, if emphasis upon the point be necessary, that the relatively casual treatment in these pages of political ballads, street ballads, the whole array of ephemeral ballads is not to be charged to the sort of disregard that led one of Furnivall's correspondents to decline haughtily to sully his hands with comments upon a certain anti-Lutheran ballad, but solely to the requirements for some kind of limits, in this case determined by the broadly accepted definition of the "traditional" ballad. Furnivall's insistence upon the historical importance of the wares purveyed by the Ballad Society will not seem extravagant to any properly informed person in our day.

One of the most widely acceptable volumes in the entire collection is Furnivall's *Captain Cox, His Ballads and Books or, Robert Laneham's Letter, A.D. 1575.* The editor's "Forewords" explain amusingly how he came to learn the truth with regard to frequent references he had encountered in his researches to a Captain Cox. A friend directed him to Laneham's letter, and the mystery of Captain Cox stood revealed. Furnivall's volume is an edition of the letter, with an elaborate Introduction devoted to the individual items in the Captain's repertory, as reported by Laneham. These form a list of such popular literature as may be supposed to have been familiar to a reader in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The list, including story-books, philosophy and poetry, ancient plays, a medical work, ballads, and almanacs, is of greater direct meaning to the student of romances than to anyone else. The actual count of ballads is rather disappointing. In the whole array the matter relating to the Robin Hood cycle is most useful for the present purpose. Furnivall finds in Captain Cox's packet an occasion for profitable comparison with the similar catalog of romantic literature in *The Complaynt of Scotland* and therefore introduces some annotations on the pieces in the Scottish galaxy. Laneham's letter itself is a valuable record of pastimes, as witnessed by this London observer in the course of Leicester's historic pageantry at Kenilworth. Plays, games, tournaments, running at the quintain,[1] minstrelsy, music — folk amusements of many sorts are here described in lively fashion. As incidental comment on popular tastes in an era in which ballads flourished, Laneham's lively account outweighs a great deal of more formal historical exposition.

The remaining volumes of the publications of the society consist of the Roxburghe ballads and the Bagford ballads. The first three volumes of the Roxburghe collection were edited by William Chappell, and the rest by J. W. Ebsworth. Ebsworth alone took care of the Bagford collection. There is a greater difference between the two editors than between the sets of poetry they handled. Chappell is sober and succinct; Ebsworth is voluminous and ebullient and personal in his methods. Although it is clear from their accounts that large quantities of ballads must have perished under various vicissitudes, the number preserved and made accessible through the forethought and industry of the Ballad Society is quite imposing as we see them marshalled in the bulky volumes. Their variety of subject is no less likely to create astonishment in the minds of such as may not have realized to what extent the diurnal output of the ballad presses of an earlier day served most people who could read and many who could not, in the stead of newspaper, sermonette, political circular, story magazine, music-hall entertainment, moving picture. A reference to some of the subdivisions in the tables of contents of the separate volumes will furnish proof that the ballads were veritable Jacks-of-all-trades. In the fourth volume of the Roxburghe collection, as arranged by Ebsworth, are to be found such group headings as these: the

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[1] The best traditions of the quintain seem to have been lost in Trollope's time, to judge by the travesty performed at Ullathorne; see *Barchester Towers*, chap. 36.

"Philander" group, the "Delights of the Bottle" group, the "Young Man's Counsellor" group, a group on the Earl of Danby, a group of anti-papal ballads, a group devoted to York and Monmouth, and miscellaneous things besides. Some of the subdivisions in the other volumes, seized at random, confirm the impression of universality of subject: a group of "Cupid Ballads," "Nautical Ballads," "Anglo-Scottish Ballads," "Christmas Carols." Within the covers of these volumes will be observed something suited to almost any degree of literary taste and almost any shade of moral persuasion. For the editing of such a farrago, a special combination of qualities was demanded: a broad grasp of ballad literature in particular, of English literature in general, of history; and a catholicity of view joined with a sort of blind zeal. The publications of the society would have left a more nearly uniform impression had the editors been more nearly equal in scholarship. As it unfortunately happened, it is the enthusiastic but erratic Ebsworth who has left the most marked signature on the whole mass. Modern authorities in the field distinguish sharply between the vitiated work of Ebsworth and the vastly superior editing of Chappell.

The value of the Ballad Society's series to the historian and to the investigator of customs and morals is nevertheless plain. The student of English literature will find here many an illustration touching the drama, the novel, the periodical essay, original poetry, and what not. The ballad man, whether he belongs to the communal school or to any other porch of philosophy, has here delivered into his hands a body of texts fascinating in their totality. The most ardent traditionalist, to return to our own confines, will meet with parallels to many of his favorites and corroborative evidences illuminating the entire path of advance from Percy to Child. It is a good thing that thoroughly competent modern editors are giving their talents to the proper editing of the non-popular ballads.

Other societies that have a nearer or more remote connection with balladry cannot be discussed in detail. Most valuable in a general way are such organizations as the Early English Text Society, the Scottish Text Society, the Shakespeare societies, the English Dialect Society, the Folk-Lore Society, the American Folk-Lore Society, the Folk-Song Society, and the very large number of local groups with similar aims that sprang up in the course of the century. Add to this that, as time went on, various foreign publications devoted to folklore in its manifold national and provincial manifestations became more readily available to the English student, and it will be clear that the total accumulations of textual and illustrative matter came to be of tremendous advantage to anyone interested in following the wide path of progress or turning in upon some smaller track. The periodical press, too, which during the entire eighteenth century contributed much to the advance of ballad studies, became increasingly useful as the nineteenth century ran on its course. Such a periodical as *Notes and Queries*, to name a conspicuous example, enlisted many workers and produced an imposing body of results. Owing to the miscellaneous nature of the contents of the monthly, the weekly, and the daily press, it is easy to overlook or to underestimate the total services of the periodicals. To such sources ballad history owes many a text, many an illustration, many a striking bit of interpretation or criticism.

After this perspective view of the larger group enterprises devoted to furthering the investigation of popular poetry, it will be necessary to return for an inspection of the more outstanding individual works of the period. With one or two exceptions these are not singly of a kind to call for extended notice; their total significance, meanwhile, is considerable.

For the sake of closer connection of some of these items, it may be well to consider first the men whose names are prominent among the editorial workers for the various societies. James Orchard Halliwell is such a man. He is, moreover, a scholar whose multifarious interests and activities as a bibliographer, an antiquarian, a biographer of Shakespeare, and a literary commentator make him an outstanding personification of the advantageous union between ballad lore and other spheres of learning. He has already been noticed at work for the Camden Society and the Percy Society. For the Shakespeare Society he edited the *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*, which serve to throw light not only on the fairy world of the dramatist but of a number of the ballads. Several of his other works, while not given over wholly or even mainly to popular poetry, contribute to the cause in some fashion. Such is the case with his *Nugæ Poeticæ* (1844), which among its trifles of older English poetry presents a text of the ballad of *The Maid and the Magpie*. His *Ballads and Poems respecting Hugh of Lincoln* (1849) has been referred to already. So has his *Nursery Rhymes of England*, done for the Percy Society. Another book of a similar cast is his *Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales* (1849). In this collection will be found, besides the ballad affiliations in practically every section of the book, stanzas of *Lord Randal*, quoted among the "Nursery-Songs" with Swedish parallels. Further references to Scandinavian folklore occur from time to time, as indeed the strong emphasis upon the value of the nursery jingles for the study of comparative literature is a feature of Halliwell's method. He actually defers in this connection to the authority of the Grimms, something unusual among English folklorists in the first half of the century. The Preface declares an indebtedness to Chambers's *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*. Halliwell's *Palatine Anthology* and *Palatine Garland* (1850), his *Yorkshire Anthology* (1851) and his *Norfolk Anthology* (1852), ranging in general purpose and effect with earlier provincial garners, all contain ballads of sorts. As a curiosity should be mentioned Halliwell's attribution to Shakespeare of ballads on the Spanish Armada.

The *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* (1845) of Thomas Wright and Halliwell is the sort of book that the literary antiquary may well be pleased with. It is described by the editors as "scraps from ancient manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English literature and the English language." The scraps are drawn from Old English, Medieval Latin, and Middle English sources and have to do with a grave and gay medley of things, from the proverbs of Alfred to treatises on falconry. Ballads to suit any taste are to be discovered jostling charms for the toothache, epitaphs, romances, glosses, sermons. It is just from such confused masses of this and that and the other that the masters of footnote have exhumed valuable critical munitions. It is the perfection of the horseshoe-nail economics applied to literature; the principle of Samuel Smiles, of picking up any little thing lying about loose, with an eye to a possible usefulness in the future, has amply justified itself in the case of the odds and ends gathered into baskets by men like Wright and Halliwell.

Another of the principal editors for the societies deserves some further attention, namely William Chappell, whom we have seen occupied with the affairs of the Ballad Society. His services to popular music are, if anything, more important still. As early as 1840 he published *A Collection of National Airs*, consisting of ancient song, ballad, and dance tunes, preceded by an essay on English minstrelsy. In 1855 and 1859 he published a work which occupies a place between that of a new and enlarged edition of the former work and that of a fresh original production, under the title of *Popular Music of the Olden Time*. In these volumes Chappell properly emphasizes the necessary relation between words and music in the old songs and ballads, something which preceding editors had indeed noticed but not often very fully. In an essay on "Old English Minstrelsy," prefixed to the collection, Chappell pays his compliments to Percy and Ritson among the earlier workers who had taken some special interest in this phase of the matter. James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, first published late in the eighteenth century, and re-edited by David Laing, with William Stenhouse's textual, musical, and critical illustrations, in 1839 and again in 1853, is the only antecedent work in the popular field with which Chappell may possibly be compared; Chappell's work, however, is the more valuable to students of the ballad in particular. Chappell does not wholly approve of his predecessors, Burney, or Dauney, or Stenhouse. On the other hand, he speaks highly of his collaborator E. F. Rimbault, known in his own right for his musical illustrations to Percy's *Reliques* and Gutch's *Robin Hood*, and other books on the subject. Chappell's work unfortunately does not carry the chronological development further than to the reign of George II, and consequently leaves untouched a large mass of traditional music which later collectors have in some measure been able to recover as an aftermath. Chappell's *Popular Music* is a valuable repository of texts as well as tunes.[1]

Another musical production is W. Christie's *Traditional Ballad Airs* (1876–81), made up of airs current in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, many of them being customarily employed in the singing of Buchan's ballads. The editor is reputed to have treated the melodies rather arbitrarily. Christie as a rule does not publish the full text of the words, but his book ranks nevertheless as a poetical, and not only a musical, anthology.

There are a number of other smaller works that have a similar dual importance. Among these is Llewellyn Jewitt's *Ballads and Songs of Derbyshire* (1867). Another provincial collection is Miss M. H. Mason's mainly Northumbrian *Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs* (first published in 1878; another edition, about 1908). Bruce and Stokoe's *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* (1882) carries a group of ballads, melodies, and small-pipe tunes. Frank Kidson's *Traditional Tunes*

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[1] Of Chappell's *Popular Music*, Cecil Sharp says, among other things, "It is emphatically not a collection of folk-songs. . . . The traditionary ballads of the people, except so far as they appeared in the manuscripts and printed books of past centuries, are practically excluded from it." Sharp states further that in the second edition of Chappell's work, edited by H. Ellis Wooldridge, 1893, the few traditional airs of the original edition have been excluded. See Sharp's *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*, p. 117.

(1891) were gathered chiefly in Yorkshire and the south of Scotland. Modern readers will remember Mr. Kidson and Miss Neal's useful handbook on *English Folk-Song and Dance* (1915). A pleasant book for the amateur and a useful book for the scholar will be found in Miss Broadwood and Mr. Fuller-Maitland's *English County Songs* (1893), especially interesting for its inclusion of traditional music from the several counties of Britain.

Some collections of carols may be grouped here as works important both for their words and their music. Joshua Sylvester's *Garland of Christmas Carols* (1861) contains classified ancient and modern carols. W. H. Husk's *Songs of the Nativity* (about 1870) and A. H. Bullen's *Carols and Poems* (1886), "from the fifteenth century to the present time," have the advantage of offering for comparison verses by named writers with the favorite anonymous carols. Of special appeal to those who value Stainer's church music will be the collection, produced jointly by H. R. Bramley and John Stainer, *Christmas Carols, New and Old* (about 1870).

The works dealt with in these two or three preceding paragraphs have been singly pointed out because of their being listed by Child among the sources of the ballad texts. It is not convenient to mention all of the more suitable recent publications. I am particularly pleased, however, at this opportunity to give a word of appreciation to the zealous and valuable labors of the late Cecil Sharp. In the domain of the popular ballad on both sides of the Atlantic, in the realm of popular music, in the circle of the folk-dance, Mr. Sharp has deserved well of his own country and of ours. Anyone who has had the pleasure of belonging to one of Mr. Sharp's folk-dance classes or who has seen one of his Hammersmith dance programs will realize his devotion and his skill in restoring, so far as restoration is now possible, the antique features of ballad, song, and dance.[1]

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[1] Special reference may be made here to Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp's *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, 1917; and to Mr.

A similar revival of folk-dancing has attracted a remarkable following in the Scandinavian countries. The May-day dances at *Skansen* in Stockholm and the enthusiastic pioneering work of Hulda Garborg in Norway show what may yet be done in the field to which Cecil Sharp so earnestly devoted himself.

On returning once more to the editors of the group closely connected with the societies, we find ourselves in the presence of F. J. Furnivall, intimately associated with the Philological Society and the Early English Text Society, but more noteworthy here for his efforts in getting the *Percy Folio Manuscript* finally before the public in a form suited to its high place in the history of popular literature. As Furnivall himself explains in the printed proposal dated November 1, 1866, inviting subscriptions toward the work, Professor Child had long been urging upon English scholars the crying need of making the celebrated manuscript generally available. As a result of the repeated solicitations of Child and Furnivall and others, the owners of the manuscript were at length prevailed upon to permit its being copied for the purpose of publication. According to the prospectus just mentioned, Furnivall was to see the texts put in order and Child and J. W. Hales were to be charged with the introductions and the collations. In a second issue of the proposal, dated by Furnivall March 28, 1867, this plan was altered to the extent of leaving out the name of Child, the other collaborators remaining as before. In the event, Furnivall and Hales bore the editorial responsibility, but had the assistance of Child, W. W. Skeat, the Reverend J. Pickford, and a number of other men. The work appeared in 1867–68.

It is difficult to lay too much stress on the value of these

Sharp's *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*, 1907; the latter work contains an Appendix of titles of books of English folk-songs "taken down directly from the lips of folk-singers." Particular attention should be called in this connection to *The Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 1899–. A personal appreciation of Mr. Sharp is that of Mr. Allen Brockington, in *The London Mercury*, XVII (April, 1928), 666–672.

volumes in the whole matter of ballad research. One thing is the unearthing of the texts themselves, many of which had never been printed and the rest of which, aside from a small number of poems by named and widely known authors, had not been presented in their true likeness; of the hitherto unknown poems, those lying outside the category of the strict ballad form were as generally acceptable as those within that category. Then there is the critical apparatus: the life of Percy, the sketch of eighteenth-century ballad history, the essay on alliterative metrics by Skeat, and the introductions, not all of equal importance, to the several numbers in the collection. Add to these features, the specific usefulness of the manuscript to Child's great opus, and the salutary effect of an edition of popular poetry prepared with due respect to the delivered text; and it will be understood that this work holds a place apart. As we study it now, in the light of earlier ballad history, as we think how few of the editors, from Percy down through the decades, were endowed with anything but a poetic conscience, we may feel that Furnivall and Hales treated the old bishop with relative severity; yet even their asperity toward his altering and improving foibles was a sign of the times. It meant that the manuscript had at last fallen into the hands of men trained, largely through the more scrupulous methods practised by the societies, in a proper regard for the historic value of monuments of the earlier language and literature of the land. It is true that Grundtvig found the edition very imperfect[1] and that Child thought best to dissociate himself from actual responsibility as an editor and to record a degree of veiled disapproval in the signed annotations he supplied for the volumes and in further unprinted notes preserved among the Child MSS. We will agree with Grundtvig that Child should have done the editing. Nevertheless, the main purpose was accomplished; the manuscript was laid before the world. One of the immediate results of the publication of this basic work was a new edition

[1] See Grundtvig's letter to Child, February 17, 1872.

of the *Reliques*, under the care of H. B. Wheatley, who had assisted in the editing of the *Folio*. Another important edition is that of M. M. A. Schröer, particularly valuable to students for its synoptic treatment of the first four editions of the *Reliques*.

It now remains to notice briefly some of the separate publications of individual editors not closely connected with the societies discussed above. Only the more important books listed among the sources of Child's texts will come within this survey. They may be taken up mainly in chronological order.

The first name to be noted among the individual editors may well be that of James Maidment, whose various publications cover a span of nearly fifty years. As early as 1824 he published, if publishing it may be called, a small collection named *A North Country Garland*, thirty copies only being struck off. Most of the sixteen pieces in the volume are true ballads; Maidment declares that none of them had been printed before, and Motherwell lists six of them as hitherto unknown texts of ancient ballads. In 1844 Maidment released from the press sixty copies of *A New Book of Old Ballads*; the twenty numbers printed here are for the most part such poems as form the staple of the publications of the Ballad Society; there is one good version of *Tam Linn*. Another collection, from the hand of this editor, came out in 1859, with the title *Scotish Ballads and Songs*. It deserves the designation of *olla podrida* given to it by Maidment himself. Curiously we find him stating the opinion that practically all of the good ancient ballads of Scotland have already been printed; what he gives here is therefore largely broadside and garland materials of what he considers a secondary rate of merit; some of them, he explains, had been designated as worth printing by no less a person than C. K. Sharpe. There are a few versions of traditional pieces. Maidment's largest collection is the *Scotish Ballads and Songs* (2 vols., 1868). These are "historical and traditionary," traditionary in this case meaning such as have a traditional connection with an historical event; many of them are reprinted from earlier collections. Maidment declares his conviction that Hogg manufactured *Auld Maitland*; on the other hand, he finds nothing dubious about *Kinmont Willie*, though he has no doubt that Surtees and others practised upon good Sir Walter. Maidment ranks among the most respectable editors.

Two works of Alexander Whitelaw demand notice. One is *The Book of Scottish Song* (1855), published in another form some ten years before. It merits the editor's designation as a "comprehensive" collection, about 1250 separate numbers being included. As the volume was under way before Whitelaw had put his ballad book in order, a few ballads are to be seen among the songs. His *Book of Scottish Ballads* appeared in 1845. This work, like the preceding, is particularly useful as the repository of a very large number of texts; among the contents are the greater part of Scott's *Minstrelsy* and selections from the other principal ballad publications, such as those of Jamieson, Motherwell, and Buchan; the editor notes his source in each case. By no means to be overlooked are the many good imitations from the better writers.

M. A. Richardson's huge compilation, *The Borderer's Table Book* (1846), is described as "gatherings of the local history and romance of the English and Scottish Border." Of its eight bulky volumes, the last three, coming under the "legendary division," contain a farrago of more or less antiquarian lore in the form of legends, superstitions, romantic stories in prose, a share of traditional ballads, and a sizable group of imitations by known authors, chiefly such as have based their poems on provincial beliefs or who have accommodated their writing to that general style. Surtees figures rather prominently as a poet and as a source of various popular materials. J. H. Dixon, too, is a frequent contributor, both of verse and of learned comment; on one occasion he seems to be making the assertion that the Border ballads as a class are English, even when they appear dressed in Scottish dialect.[1] The *Table Book*, although not the most scholarly production, is a mine of facts and fancies for the curious. Frederick Sheldon's *Minstrelsy of the English Border* (1847) is a footless performance carrying a strange medley of refashioned texts and imitations, interspersed with a few examples of genuine matter. J. S. Moore's *Pictorial Book of Ballads* (1841; 1853) is a work for the parlor table, crammed with older and newer traditional ballads and imitations.

A much more ambitious work from the scholarly point of view is J. M. Gutch's *Lytyll Geste of Robin Hode* (1847). This is a collection of ballads relating to the outlaw, some of which were not hitherto generally known or widely available, and an extensive apparatus of introduction and critical comment. Gutch's method in the critical portion of the book is not unlike that of Ritson. Gutch summarizes Ritson's essay on the outlaw and adds to the earlier store some further historical and literary documentation. To all intents and purposes, Gutch dissents from Ritson principally in placing the era of Robin Hood later. He attaches great value to the historical testimony of the *Geste* itself, which he gives the place of honor in the collection. His reliance on the ballad texts ought to have been considerably shaken through the very multifariousness of his own collectanea. Like Ritson's work, Gutch's is noteworthy for its accumulation of scattered references to the greenwood archer. Almost any work on Robin Hood will be diverting; this book is more than that.[2] As to the historicity of the Sherwood hero, Child is of the opinion that he is entirely a creation of the ballads.[3] Keats perhaps came as near to the truth as it is possible to come —

> Gone the tough-belted outlaw,
> Idling in the grene shaw.

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[1] M. A. Richardson, *The Borderer's Table Book*, VII, 20.

[2] Other works by Gutch are: *The Robin Hood Garlands and Ballads, with the Tale of the Lytell Geste*, 2 vols., London, 1850; and J. M. Gutch and John Hicklin, *Robin Hood, a Collection of Poems, Songs, and Ballads*, London, 1867.

[3] See Child's Introduction to *The Gest of Robin Hood.*

Robert Bell's *Ancient Poems, Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry of England* (1857) is for the most part based on materials collected by J. H. Dixon; Bell's own part in the work, beyond the general editing, is not made quite clear. In W. E. Aytoun's *Ballads of Scotland* (1858; 2d ed., revised and enlarged, 1859) we find an array of texts that have been frankly collated for the purpose of providing a readable set of versions. In an extensive Introduction, Aytoun explains his whole system. The method is predicated on the assumption, apparently, that the ballads are largely the composition of a professional order of minstrels who have successively made alterations in the poems to suit the requirements of their trade. Aytoun is quite right in pointing out how portions of one ballad have in the course of long transmission been incorporated into another and how changes in language have taken place in the succession of years. He rather errs in attributing these processes too much to purposed adaptation on the part of the reciters. His mode of editing is that of taking several of the versions of a ballad and constructing what he supposes to be a good text. Although in the Introduction he plumes himself on having made the details of his procedure clear, it will be found on examination of the notes to the individual numbers that he is not altogether explicit. There can, however, be no question of fraud. His remarks on the whole make his general practice of collating quite manifest; he finds a virtue in rather working through excision than through addition. The collection, then, offers texts as Aytoun thinks they once were and as they ought to be. William Allingham's *Ballad Book* (1865) proceeds also by the method of collation, though not on so broad a scale as is the case with Aytoun. Allingham, too, purposes making a set of texts that people may want to read.

With a few smaller collections this survey of the editors may be brought to a close. W. H. Logan's *Pedlar's Pack of Ballads and Songs* (1869) is for the most part based on earlier miscellaneous collectanea of Maidment; there are not many old traditional ballads of the first water here. A. Nimmo's *Songs and Ballads of Clydesdale* (1882) contains a number of poems by named writers and a half dozen traditional ballads of the accepted sort, as current in Clydesdale. Mrs. Rosamond Marriott Watson's (Graham R. Tomson's) *Ballads of the North Countrie* (1888) is a selection for reading purposes of texts drawn from Child, Scott, Motherwell, Jamieson, and others of the earlier collectors. Only one or two of the pieces have an independent source. Charlotte Sophia Burne's *Shropshire Folk-Lore* (1883–86), as the title indicates, is devoted to a wide and varied sheaf of gleanings, covering superstitions, customs, instances of well-worship, to name only a few of the subjects treated in this very useful work; it contains also a dozen or so of good versions of ballads, carols, jingles, and the like. Of books outside of the special range of balladry, but nearly allied to it, may be mentioned further W. W. Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children* (1883).

In his sweeping search Child ran across ballads in many curious places, as will be clear from a look at some of the titles of works listed among his sources but not discussed in detail here. Among hiding-places of casual texts may be named such books as F. H. Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*, Edmund Venables's *Walk through Lincoln Minster*, and Margaret Warrender's *Walks near Edinburgh*. These vagrant sources of texts illustrate how the interest in ballads had penetrated the crannies of literature by the end of the century.

Aside from the editors, there are many writers who have made valuable contributions to the critical discussion of the ballads. Among these is John Veitch, whose *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border* (new edition, 1893) is still frequently quoted. Few have been more stimulating as ballad critics in recent years than Andrew Lang. As the defender of Sir Walter Scott, as a correspondent of Child's, as the author of numerous longer and shorter disquisitions on a variety of topics connected with folklore, Andrew Lang will long continue to be heard wherever ballads are discussed. He has left his mark, too, as an imitator of the antique models and as an original balladist.

In a large number of the collections reviewed in the preceding pages there has been occasion to note from time to time the occurrence of old favorite imitations and newer poems of that kind. A group of *Original Ballads*, by living writers, was edited by the Reverend Henry Thompson in 1850. Barham's *Ingoldsby Legends* will occur at once to memory as good examples of a brilliant humorous use of the ancient models; it is to be especially remarked, however, that in these parodies there is nothing of the contempt which is manifest in some of the preceding burlesques upon Monk Lewis and his like. A spirit of pure fun sets its seal on the Barham collection, as upon various works of Lewis Carroll. Good humor, too, animates the pen of Bon Gaultier, often at American expense. Nor is Thackeray concerned with rebuking any unfit devotion to ballad literature in his comic flights; he has merely found a vehicle peculiarly suitable for the presentation of skits like the serio-comic narratives of Policeman X, and the more satiric turn in *The King of Brentford's Testament*. There is no more reason to suppose that in these sallies he is criticizing adversely ballads of the old type than to suppose that in the *Yellowplush Papers* he is poking fun at the English language. His famous *Ballad of Bouillabaise* belongs more to the lyrical order, but is no less admirable for that. Thackeray is only carrying on a tradition in using the old forms for varied purposes.

Of the writers who used this poetical means seriously perhaps none will reward close study more than will Rossetti and Swinburne. Rossetti has achieved different artistic effects by attention to differing models. His *Sister Helen*, *The White Ship*, and *The King's Tragedy* vary in content and in method, from the dramatic and somewhat veiled *Sister Helen* to the sustained longer narrative of *The King's Tragedy*. Rossetti is far enough away from the ridiculous associations that got bound up with the Bürger school so as to be able to approach the ancient forms with commanding ease and freedom. In his hands the popular measures and rhythms prove their adaptability to circumscribed poetic uses.

The publication in 1925 of MacInnes's edition of Swinburne's *Ballads of the English Border*, makes it possible for us to study his relation to the subject most advantageously. Here we find examples of his ballad work from about 1862 to the end of his life; there are even some posthumous things to fill up the measure. Reference has already been made in the discussion of Scott to Swinburne's English partisanship as regards the Border ballads; the early fragmentary Preface written by the poet when he was planning a ballad collection of his own shows that he felt most warmly the alleged injustice of the Scots in appropriating many examples of English balladry. Although Swinburne gave up the idea of forming a book of traditional verse, he continued to exert himself in collation and imitation, with the results that we see in this new edition. The special value of MacInnes's work for our purpose lies in the arrangement of the poet's balladry into three classes: collations of traditional texts, direct imitations, and free compositions in the ballad vein. Collation, the process of restoring a text by combination from different versions, is a work either for the expert scholar or for the poet. Imitation is the function of the scholar or of the poet, or of the scholar-poet, as in the case of Andrew Lang. Free composition in the ancient spirit is distinctly the province of the poet. In any case of the three, Swinburne has qualifications that give remarkable interest to his experiments. His collated texts have the great advantage of being accompanied by his own notes, which explain his methods and embody frank critical comments on the various earlier editors. The imitations are often rather to be classed as rewritings of ballad stories than as original work. Some of the free compositions, like the *Sea-Swallows*, show fine mastery of the traditional manner and style. Whether as direct and implied criticism or as poetry this volume illustrates the entire ground in a most significant way.

George Meredith wrote a few poems that show close affinities with the traditional verse. Among the briefer specimens, *The Three Maidens* has caught the method of suggestion that forms so admirable a feature of the ancient technique. The best imitation, in spirit as in form, is no doubt *Margaret's Bridal Eve*. A longer narrative is *Archduchess Anne*. Other poems of his bearing the ballad title have more of the lyrical quality.

The verse of William Morris presents many items belonging to our category. Not a few of these, however, are properly to be described as lyrical ballads. One entitled simply *Ballad* is probably as successful as any among the shorter poems. *The Hall and the Wood* and *Goldilocks and Goldilocks* provide instances of longer narratives owing much to the ancient models but more elaborate in structure. Of the more lyrical sort, *Two Red Roses across the Moon* and *Welland River* fix themselves upon the memory. Morris is conscious, too, of the relation between Old Norse verse and the later Scandinavian traditional poetry. His *King of Denmark's Sons* is a straightforward story, true ballad in likeness and tone. Besides, there are several adaptations from the Icelandic and translations of some of the better-known of the Danish folk-poems, such as *Hildebrand and Hellelil*, *Hafbur and Signy*, *Knight Aagen and Maiden Else*, and *Agnes and the Hill-Man*. In *The Mother under the Mould* he gives an English version of one of the most justly admired Danish romantic ballads, the tale of the mother who returns after death to care for her children suffering under the cruelty of a stepmother.

Robert Buchanan has treated the same story more independently in *The Dead Mother*. Among his original poems in this vein, *The Ballad of Judas Iscariot* takes a high rank, not merely because it reminds in some ways of the *Ancient Mariner*. Buchanan has used the popular vehicle for a number of other narratives, such as *James Avery*, *The Lights of Leith*, *Hakon*, and the long poem from his later years, *The Ballad of Mary the Mother* (1897). To a period about thirty years earlier belongs his collection of translations from the

Danish, *Ballad Stories of the Affections* (1866). Here we come, for example, upon an English rendering of Oehlenschläger's *Agnes*, based on the same cycle of traditions as the *Agnes and the Hill-Man* translated by Morris. Buchanan offers several other versions of the Danish romantic poet and some fifteen popular ballads from the same language, following in this respect in the footprints of Jamieson and Borrow.[1]

Indeed Buchanan had been anticipated by not a few workers in the same ores, a circumstance not at all to his discredit as poetic values go. In 1852 William and Mary Howitt had published their *Literature and Romance of Northern Europe*, in which the older and newer letters of the Scandinavians are reviewed in considerable detail; the history of the ballad is rather fully treated and several specimens are presented in readable English versions.

In 1860 R. C. A. Prior gave to the public his large collection of *Ancient Danish Ballads*, drawn from various sources, including some of the earlier instalments of Grundtvig's great thesaurus. Prior's versions are not always of high merit poetically; but they are reasonably faithful to the originals. Here for the first time English readers unacquainted with the foreign tongue were supplied with a comprehensive means of viewing some of the best things in Danish balladry. Of particular importance in his volumes were the heroic and legendary pieces, of which relatively few examples had hitherto attracted the attention of English translators. Among the legendary sort turns up, for instance, a *Saint Stephen and Herod*, eminently appropriate for comparison with British poems on the same theme which had long been known through various anthologies. Besides, Prior extended very widely the range of translated romantic ballads. On the whole, his collection gave to English readers an excellent fund of materials for the comparative study suggested long before by a pioneer like Jamieson.

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[1] An essay by Buchanan, "The Old Ballads of Denmark," was printed in *The Fortnightly Review* (1865), pp. 685–696.

In the years since Prior's book came from the press, there have been from time to time individual translations. In Miss Smith-Dampier's *Danish Ballads* (1920), twenty-nine titles from a selected edition by Axel Olrik are presented in acceptable English form.

Before proceeding to a review of the work of Child, we shall devote some pages to the collectors and editors of the Scandinavian countries, and particularly to Grundtvig, whose relations to Child form a necessary part of a proper history of the English ballad.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCANDINAVIANS AND THEIR KIN

> "Ah, the Kæmpe Viser?" said the elderly individual, breathing forth an immense volume of smoke, which he had been collecting during the declamation of his young companion. "There are singular things in that book, I must confess; and I thank you for showing it to me."
>
> George Borrow: *Lavengro*, Chapter XXIII.

THE history of the ballad in the Scandinavian countries is a varied history. In spite of a large fund of common or closely related traditions, the outward circumstances surrounding the preservation of ballads in the North have been so diversified that it will be necessary here to consider the separate countries apart; they will be discussed in the following order: Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands. The community in content and form between the ballads of these countries and those of Britain provides one reason for treating them in this connection. The other main reason has to do with the importance of the Scandinavian movement for Grundtvig and eventually for Child.

Denmark fortunately began to collect her popular ballads at an early date. Vedel published one hundred ballads in 1591; Syv republished these and added another hundred in 1695. During the greater part of the eighteenth century the general drift of literary influence was unfavorable to traditional poetry; such a man as Holberg, for example, was no friend of the popular favorites. Toward the close of the century the situation changed. Denmark came under the influence of *Ossian*, of the *Reliques*, of Herder and Bürger; romantic currents flowed in upon the country from both England and Germany. In the same year that Scott published the first volumes of the *Minstrelsy*, Adam Oehlenschläger, the protagonist of romanticism in Denmark, published a volume of *Poems*, which have been generally regarded as an outstanding sign of the new era. This is not the place to follow the career of this man, who in the course of his writing made use of saga and ballad themes in a long succession of plays and poems. Nor can we enter at large upon the successful use of ballad materials by other poets and novelists and dramatists, like Hertz, and Ingemann, and others. It must be noted, meanwhile, that once the romantic fervor had made itself felt in Denmark, literary men were most energetic in seizing upon and developing the native sources of inspiration lying ready in the traditional poetry of the land. One of Oehlenschläger's most famous shorter poems had as its subject the golden horns which had been dug from the earth, kept for a time in a museum, and finally stolen, to appear no more.[1] Very fittingly the poet interpreted these horns as representing an ancient treasure of the people which, if only for a brief period, had served to remind the nation of a great inheritance. The efforts of the Danish romanticists, scholars and men of letters alike, were devoted in a great measure to recapturing from historical and traditional sources the ancient hoards of song and story which the fathers had known long before.

Though the older ballad collections had during the eighteenth century not been highly regarded by the learned, they had maintained their popularity with the public at least so far as to require several new editions of the book prepared by Syv. In the normal course of affairs, some further supply would have been required in the nineteenth century. The rise of romanticism made that need even more imperative. And in due season men were found who undertook to minister to the growing want.

The scholars who prepared the new edition of the Danish ballads were W. H. F. Abrahamson, Rasmus Nyerup, and K. L. Rahbek. As early as 1772, Abrahamson had written an enthusiastic plea for the revival of ballad writing, to which he added remarks on the desirability of an improved edition of the ancient poems.[1] Nyerup, a librarian and professor who in the course of his professional life deserved well of his country in arousing an interest for national antiquities, in pursuing historical studies, and in cultivating bibliography, biography, and the history of literature, had in 1784 made his first venture as a ballad editor in bringing out a sequel to Sandvig's *Levninger af Middel-Alderens Digtekunst* (1780); in the Preface to his volume Nyerup, too, emphasizes the need of an enlarged critical edition of the corpus of Danish balladry.[2] Rahbek brought to his task a more general literary equipment and a respectable knowledge of English literature. It seems to us now a strange lack of judgment of the true values of Danish literature that Nyerup and Rahbek, in their joint survey of the history of the native letters (1800–08), based on lectures delivered at the university, omitted discussion of the ballads. Rahbek, who writes the Preface to the published survey, excuses the omission on the ground that the authors were not in a position to deal with the individual history of the ballads; such a study, he adds, may be more properly undertaken in the edition of the ballads which for some time has been in the wind.[3]

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[1] A translation of Oehlenschläger's poem by George Borrow may be seen in the Norwich edition of Borrow's *Works*, the "Songs, Poems, and Ballads," II, 172 ff.; a translation by Robert S. Hillyer has been published in *The American-Scandinavian Review*, XV, No. 7, 404–406, and reprinted in Damon and Hillyer's *Book of Danish Verse*, American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1922.

Under the stimulation of Oehlenschläger's dramatic use of ballad themes, Nyerup in 1809 printed the ballad of *Axel Thordsen og Skjøn Valborg* as a sort of advertisement for Oehlenschläger's dramatization of the story and as an invitation to the public to aid the forthcoming larger collection with their subscriptions and particularly with any contributions of airs that might still be added to the very small store in hand. In his Introduction to the text Nyerup reveals the historian's mind rather than the mind of a man of letters. It is of more than common interest to notice that Christian Molbech, in later years a fierce opponent of Grundtvig's methods of editing, in the course of a review of Nyerup's specimen insisted on the propriety of giving the texts in their original form, without the excisions that Nyerup had permitted himself.[1] W. C. Grimm in his review also upbraided Nyerup for leaving out stanzas, but advised him to omit altogether certain tedious chronicle ballads that had found their way into the earlier collections, and to include such pieces as might be discovered still in oral currency; as for localizing the ballad, the attempt is futile, as is the search for authors, since "the ballads make themselves, springing forth like flowers from the deeds they celebrate." [2]

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[1] *Bibliothek for nyttige Skrifter* (1772), No. 25. Cf. my *Ballad Criticism*, pp. 220–221.

[2] *Levninger af Middel-Alderens Digtekunst*, second part, 1784, Preface. Cf. my *Ballad Criticism*, pp. 279–280.

[3] Nyerup and Rahbek, *Den danske Digtekunsts Historie*, 1828, Preface.

In 1810, Rahbek published another specimen, the ballad of *Aage og Else*, as a second harbinger of the proposed collection. Oehlenschläger having dramatized this ballad, too, Rahbek takes the opportunity of making some aesthetic observations in which the man of letters speaks, as in Nyerup's case the historian. Rahbek also comments on related English ballads and announces the recovery of some fifty Scandinavian melodies.[3] In 1812, Nyerup spent some time in Sweden, where he met Afzelius and formed other useful connections.[4] Of the Germans, Gräter [5] and W. Grimm particularly encouraged the Danish ballad men.

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[1] C. Molbech, in *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn*, VI, No. 47 (March 21, 1809).

[2] W. C. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 1 ff. For correspondence between Nyerup and the Grimms bearing on the preparations for the larger collection, see Ernst Schmidt's *Briefwechsel der Gebrüder Grimm mit nordischen Gelehrten*, pp. 1–83. Here also will be found letters from the brothers Grimm to the later Norwegian collectors Asbjørnsen and Moe.

[3] W. C. Grimm's review of Rahbek's *Aage og Else* may be seen in the *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 12–13.

[4] Letters from Afzelius and other Swedish scholars to Nyerup may be found in the library of the University of Copenhagen: MS *Addit. 86, 4°*. Nyerup's journal of his visit to Sweden is preserved in the same library: MS *Addit. 383 d, 4°*.

[5] Letters from Gräter to Nyerup, in the same library: MS *Addit. 87, 4°*, I–II. As a curiosity see Gräter's later "runic monument" on the death of Abrahamson, in *Idunna und Hermode* (1814), No. 19, pp. 69–76.

At length, in 1812–14, the long-awaited collection appeared, under the title of *Udvalgte danske Viser fra Middelalderen*. The names of the three collaborators are placed on the title-pages of the first two parts; by reason of Abrahamson's death in 1812, only Nyerup's and Rahbek's names are connected with the last three. The signatures of Nyerup and Rahbek identify the critical and historical essays appended to the book; the notes to the separate ballads are not assigned to the editors by name. There have, however, been preserved in the library of the University of Copenhagen some bundles, obviously fragmentary, of the preparatory manuscript.[1] So far as the evidence goes, it helps to fix the division of labor and the method of procedure. As the situation discloses itself here, in the actual preparation of the text for the press Nyerup bore the greater burden. Rahbek has left few traces in the manuscript annotations, as indeed he declares in his printed Postscript that he had only a small portion of the work. Abrahamson, though he annotated some of the historical ballads and perhaps a few others, shows most conspicuously by the testimony of the manuscript as a kind of court of review for Nyerup's critical comments on the several numbers. Through the whole mass of the manuscript we may glimpse a process something like this: a survey of the earlier printed collections with a view to the exclusion of some of the pieces and the rearrangement of what might be selected for publication; some division of the selected materials among the several editors, who then prepared their annotations singly; a submission of the materials so edited to at least one of the other editors for comment; and finally, no doubt, a survey by the full committee. The reasons for the exclusion of whole numbers from the earlier collections are explained in the printed book.[2] The manuscripts give further information as to the mode of treating individual texts. Stanzas are excluded as wanting in narrative or aesthetic fitness; readings are freely imported from a second printed source or from a manuscript source; one word is substituted for another sometimes on the mere judgment of the editors; the order of words is often changed in a line to satisfy a *penchant* of Abrahamson for good rhymes. A rationalistic attitude at times dictates the suppression of some "unreasonable" detail in one of the supernatural ballads. Altogether, in preparing a text intended to be readable as well as critical, the editors permitted themselves a good deal of freedom.

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[1] MSS *Addit. 65, 4°*; other remnants are in the Royal Library: *Ny kongl. Samling, 2314, 4°*.

[2] *Udvalgte danske Viser*, V, 58 ff.

These editors were not impeccable as scholars or as critics, but they managed to produce a respectable printed collection. One of their distinct deserts was that of making a survey, incomplete to be sure, of the manuscript collections of ballads and using them for the supplying of ballads hitherto unpublished or for controlling doubtful readings in the earlier collections. Their knowledge of myth and legend did not suffice for the difficult task of commenting upon the heroic and legendary ballads. The notes on the historic ballads reveal too great an anxiety about reconciling conflicting details, though the editors have an essentially right idea about the merely relative historical correctness that may be expected from traditional poetry.[1] They are glad to rest on the authority of W. C. Grimm as to the generally indigenous origins of the Danish ballads, but they make no fanciful claims to great antiquity; and while maintaining the anonymity of their traditional poetry, they are not misled by the opinions of the Grimms into holding a brief for a vague entity of composing folk.[2] In fact, daring theoretical generalizations will not be found in their book. They gave the public a useful collection that kept its ground until the new order of things came with Svend Grundtvig.

Nyerup's *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge* (1816) gives a survey of prose chap-book literature in Denmark and Norway, under the heading of fables, romances, folk-tales, and comic miscellanea. He explains that he had begun to treat this subject in periodicals some twenty years earlier but that Görres's *Folk-Books* in Germany had encouraged him to publish a more systematic account. His *Hertha* (1817) is of no great value, but it contains, among poems by various authors, a few ballads and some indifferent imitations. In 1821 he published, together with P. Rasmussen, a large collection of miscellaneous ballads as a pendant to the edition of 1812–14. In these two volumes, *Udvalg af danske Viser*, only later pieces, from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, are included. Among the varied contents are Biblical and legendary and moralizing ballads, a few older traditional pieces, some historical ballads, love songs, drinking songs, and some of the numbers from Vedel and Syv which for various reasons had been omitted from the former collection. Nyerup very justly compensates for his mistaken exclusion from the *Udvalgte danske Viser* of the historically most important ballad reciting Thor's recovery of his hammer. The short Introduction to the *Udvalg* of 1821 makes a useful distinction in types between the older ballads, "produced by the nation itself in the character and spirit of the folk," and these later ballads of the street and the stall.

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[1] *Udvalgte danske Viser*, V, pp. 5–7.

[2] *Ibid.*, 11 ff.

The two larger garners of Nyerup and his collaborators satisfied the public demand pretty well until the time of Grundtvig. There are, however, a few smaller selected editions that mark the historical continuity and indeed indicate an augmentation of popular favor. Shortly after the publication of a larger group of ballad airs harmonized by Professor Weyse, the poet Christian Winther, at the request of the publisher, H. C. Klein, brought out in 1840 a selection of ballad texts, to be used with these melodies, drawn from the two larger collections discussed above.[1] Since the proper mode of editing ballads was within a few years to be the subject of violent discussion in Denmark, it is worth noting that Winther, apparently after trying to adapt the words exactly to the airs, came to the conclusion that such an aim was impracticable and therefore edited his texts so as to introduce only a small number of verbal changes, mainly from the earlier printed collections. Presently Weyse published another group of harmonized airs, and Klein induced A. F. Winding to prepare for the press a second set of texts to go with the second set of melodies.[1] Winding, too, shows a high degree of respect for the ancient poems; he uses the two Nyerup collections as a basis for his texts, but lists in his Preface a number of instances in which he has restored readings that had been "improved" by Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, through recourse to Vedel, Syv, or some manuscript. Winding also expresses the desire for a new comprehensive edition of the Danish ballads in which an attempt should be made on critical principles to recover the texts in their original shape, as they may be presumed to have existed before tradition and printer's devils had maltreated them. As a right person for such a work he proposes Professor N. M. Petersen. Frederik Schaldemose, on the other hand, in the few words of Preface to his large collection of *Danske Kjæmpeviser* (1846), reproducing the texts of Vedel and Syv, declares that he does so because he considers it impossible to recapture the original form of the texts. Schaldemose's book contains, moreover, a good representation of ballad imitations by Danish and Norwegian poets, among them Rahbek, Winther, Storm, Ingemann, Welhaven, and Oehlenschläger.

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[1] C. Winther, *Kjæmpeviser, hvis Melodier ere harmonisk bearbeidede af Professor Ridder Weyse*, Copenhagen, 1840.

Oehlenschläger himself finds a place among the ballad editors. As early as 1804 he inserted in the periodical *Minerva* proposals for a work that was to present specimens of ancient poetry, including ballads; the ballads, according to his announcement, were to be given not exactly in the form in which they had come down, but cleansed of superfluities and stains.[1] It was not until 1840, however, that he actually published his edition, the *Gamle danske Folkeviser*. The immediate history of the book is instructive. An organization called the "Society for the Right Use of the Freedom of the Press" examined the manuscript of the collection with a view to its inclusion among their publications. A committee of the society, consisting of N. M. Petersen, F. Fabricius, and C. A. Thortsen, reported unfavorably on the poet's mode of dealing with the texts. The several opinions of the members of the committee have been preserved. N. M. Petersen holds that there are two principal methods of editing ballads. The one consists in searching all of the available versions of a ballad and then by a critical process establishing a single text approximate in language, in content, in poetic quality to the assumed original; the other method is that of relatively free poetic treatment. It would be difficult to find a scholar able to undertake the task by the first method; Oehlenschläger's book represents the second method, and Petersen is willing to recommend it but notes a number of cases where he thinks the poet has dealt too freely with the originals. Fabricius agrees in the main with Petersen; Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek made too many changes; Oehlenschläger has gone still farther in the direction of alterations, so that in its present form his manuscript is not acceptable. Thortsen joins his colleagues in allowing some textual manipulation but in finding the poet rather arbitrary. On reading the reports of the other two members, Petersen adds a final note defending a certain freedom in an edition not designed to be critical and advising against rejection of the poet's work without at least suggesting that he make some revision of his copy.[2] In the end, Oehlenschläger found a publisher for himself; he explains in the Preface that the collection was to have been published by the society but that he determined to proceed at length according to his own devices. He also describes his system of editing and defends certain types of changes as poetically justifiable. His collection as published contains some fifty ballads, modernized in language and unencumbered by critical observations. To be sure, in the first ballad in the book he permits, for reasons of propriety, the hero Sivard Snarensvend to tear off only the bough of an oak, instead of tearing up the entire oak by the roots as in the original. The committee had noticed this example of poetic gentility. There was something more than an oak tree between the poet and the committee. The differences of view apparent here will be still more apparent a few years later. On a small scale the divergence between the poet and the committee foreshadows the fiery dissensions that were to mark the Battle of the Ballads, in which Grundtvig was to be the victor.

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[1] A. F. Winding, *Kjæmpeviser udgivne som Text til andet Hefte af Professor Ridder Weyses Melodier*, Copenhagen, 1843.

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[1] *Minerva* (1804), No. 20, pp. 318–320.

[2] For a copy of the written verdicts of the committee, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. C. S. Petersen, of the Royal Library at Copenhagen. The original manuscripts may be found in the Royal Library: *Ny kongl. Saml.*, *1538*, *2°*, VIII.

The ballad movement in Sweden is closely connected with that in Denmark. Both countries shared in the general romantic promptings that stirred the North of Europe at this time. Even before the end of the eighteenth century Sweden was inundated with imitations after the manner of Bürger, an influence that continued for several years in the nineteenth century, only to be succeeded by related impulses. About the beginning of the second decade, two groups of young romanticists, differing in character and aim and yet supplementing each other, took the field in a vigorous campaign which shortly won the country for romanticism: the Phosphorists and the Gothic Union. Both groups conducted periodicals and counted poets and critics of talent in their ranks. The Phosphorists stood for romantic medievalism; the Gothic Union stood particularly for a revaluation and resuscitation of the Scandinavian past. Although both parties helped to revive the native ballads, the Gothic Union became notably instrumental to this end.[1] In this respect it owed much to the example of the linguistic and literary antiquarians of Denmark; Nyerup in this matter was a mediator not only through his personal visit to Sweden in 1812 but through his correspondence with men like Afzelius.[1]

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[1] On the general aspects of Swedish romanticism, see Fredrik Böök, *Den romantiska tidsåldern i svensk litteratur*, 2d ed., Stockholm, 1919.

The periodicals of the two romantic groups contained, besides original poems in the ballad vein, occasional contributions of traditional materials. The various numbers of Atterbom's *Poetisk Kalender*, especially that of 1816, presented specimens of popular verse. L. Hammarsköld, on the appearance of Rahbek's *Aage og Else*, translated the ballad for the Swedish periodical *Phosphorus* in 1811 with the purpose of turning the attention of his countrymen to their own old ballads. The Gothic Union, for its part, made a special program of collecting folk-poetry and bringing it to a more general notice.[2] A member of this Union, L. F. Rääf, should be specially singled out as an energetic and conscientious collector; he never gave his own name to a printed collection of ballads but he has left a highly valuable harvest of folklore of various sorts in manuscript still available in Swedish archives.[3] A published collection of ballads by him seems to have been forestalled by Geijer and Afzelius, though it is not certain that Rääf, with his high scholarly standards, would have been likely to rush very hastily into print.

However that may be, the foremost place in Swedish ballad history must be assigned to Geijer and Afzelius, whose *Svenska Folkvisor* (1812–14) still occupies high ground, having been issued in a new and enlarged edition by Bergström and Höijer in 1880. The original edition is a landmark in Swedish romanticism. Afzelius is to be credited with the larger part of the texts, gathered from oral tradition in his native province of Västergötland; some contributions came from similar collections of Rääf, the brothers D. S. and J. H. Wallmann,[1] and others. Papers that still are extant from Afzelius's hand give information of his sources and of his mode of handling the texts; comparisons between manuscript and printed forms show that he permitted himself certain editorial liberties.[2] He enlisted the critical pen of Geijer to supply an Introduction and comments on the refrains. Geijer, in his Introduction, envisages the ballads in a sort of silver haze of romantic idealism. To him these popular poems are true folk-poetry, as deriving not from individuals but from the lyric soul of the whole people, and here he approaches the views of the Grimms. In early medieval times folk-poetry and art poetry were indistinguishable; in early modern times there came to be a separation between the folk and the cultivated classes, and so art poetry ceased to have anything to do with the people, who then fell back on their own traditional funds of verse. In his essay on the refrains he makes these the conspicuous sign of what to him was the real nature of the ballad, a union of epic and lyric qualities. In support of the view that the Scandinavian ballads bore a specially close relation to those of Britain, a point in Geijer's Introduction, the collection contains translations of some English and Scottish ballads, with references to Jamieson, Scott, and others.[3]

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[1] Original letters to Nyerup from Afzelius and other Swedish scholars may be found in the library of the University of Copenhagen: MS *Addit. 86, 4°.*

[2] The archives of the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities (Kungliga vitterhets —, historie — och antikvitetsakademien, sometimes known as Vitterhetsakademien) contain a collection of ballads gathered by members of the Gothic Union, 1808–24: Folklore MSS No. 12.

[3] Rääf's collections, still in large part unprinted, are preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm, in the Royal Academy above mentioned, and in the University Library at Upsala.

L. F. Rääf, whose contributions to the collection of Geijer and Afzelius have been historically somewhat obscured, later found an opportunity to place some of his materials to good advantage. Meanwhile the elaborate program for the collection of folklore and antiquities which he printed in the periodical *Iduna* in 1814 shows to what a degree he understood the work to which a large portion of his active life was devoted; in this program he gives the most conspicuous position to popular story, song, myths, and the like. Eventually he made a fortunate arrangement with A. I. Arvidsson which led to the publication of the *Svenska fornsånger* (1834–42). This was intended as a sequel to the work of Geijer and Afzelius, and supplements that book usefully. The texts for the *Svenska fornsånger* were drawn largely from the resources of Rääf; similar contributions came from the brothers Wallmann; Arvidsson also made use of various older manuscript collections that had hardly been touched by the former editors, but which have recently been brought out by Schück, Noreen, Lundell, and Grape. Arvidsson's volumes contain heroic ballads, romantic and historic ballads, and miscellaneous traditional verse, reliably edited; his Preface calls attention to his use of the ancient orthography in the texts drawn from manuscript, so as to obviate possible doubts as to the genuineness of his redactions. The collection was accepted as a distinctly valuable addition to the store of Swedish popular poetry.[1] Rääf continued to interest himself in national and local antiquities, and has left a particularly important work descriptive of the olden days in his own county of Ydre.[2]

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[1] The Wallmann collection, later used by Arvidsson, is now in the Royal Library at Stockholm: MS *Vitt. sv. saml. 2.3.*

[2] The Royal Library at Stockholm has some manuscript materials illustrating the Geijer–Afzelius publication, such as letters of the two editors, some ballad texts, and notes by Afzelius on a proposed, but never executed, second edition by him of the *Svenska folkvisor*: MS *Vitt. sv. saml. 126*; and a separate MS of Letters Relating to the Publication of Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor*.

[3] Nyerup reviewed the Swedish collection, calling attention to Danish parallels, in *Dansk Minerva* (September, 1815), pp. 205–230. For a criticism by W. Grimm, see his *Kleinere Schriften*, III, 70 ff.

Richard Dybeck's zeal for the past has left a memorial chiefly in *Runa*, a periodical that began to appear in 1842 and continued at irregular intervals for some twenty years. In its pages archaeology, domestic antiquities, poetry, and music contend for preëminence. Dybeck brought to light a good number of ballads and airs. In 1849 he published a special collection of songs and tunes used by the herd girls in calling the cattle by means of singing or blowing the rustic horns; this is the *Svenska vallvisor och hornlåtor*. The Introduction to this work contains a pretty theory of origins. Referring to an earlier declaration of his own, that these herd songs are "the song of the woods," he now declares that they are nothing more or less than "the woods in song"; in the tones of the woodland horn, he continues, lies the fundamental tone of the herd songs, from which in turn have developed the entire world of Swedish folk-music. With the aid of L. Höijer, Dybeck also published a group of thirty-six folk-tunes, called *Svenska visor*.[1]

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[1] See Geijer's very favorable review, reprinted in Afzelius's *Afsked af svenska folksharpan*, Appendix. In the Royal Library at Stockholm are preserved extensive manuscript collections of Arvidsson's; among them is a printed copy of the *Svenska fornsånger* with manuscript annotations and additions looking toward a possible second edition: MS *Vitt. sv. saml. 1.1; 1.2; 1.3*; further, the MS sources of the published volumes and a supplementary group of ballad versions: MS *Vitt. sv. saml. 2.1; 2.2; 2.3*.

[2] Arvid Ahnfelt's *L. F. Rääf af Småland och hans literäre Umgängeskrets* gives incidental information about the published ballad collections with which Rääf was concerned.

In 1848, Afzelius, now grown old in the service, bids farewell to the ballads and music of his native land in his *Afsked af svenska Folksharpan*. This book is something of a medley: adaptations of his own words to old melodies; ancient ballads with their tunes; love songs, drinking songs, sailors' songs, herd songs. With it all he gives impressionistic sketches of phases of the ballad and an interesting account of some of the circumstances connected with his own and Geijer's collection. There is a sort of lyrical pathos mingled with real enthusiasm about the whole work; altogether, it emphasizes well the keen sense, notable in the Swedes above some of their neighbors, that a ballad without its appropriate air is nothing. Afzelius's farewell rings out the old in Swedish balladry, a period of romantic enthusiasm of which the poetry of Tegnér will no doubt be the most familiar example.

Although the middle of the century makes no absolutely fixed epoch in Swedish ballad history, yet the developments after that time take on a somewhat different character, in part under the stimulation of Grundtvig's work in Denmark. It is not to be understood that there was a definite Swedish parallel to the notable activity of collection and editing in Denmark during the remainder of the century; even as late as 1880, Grundtvig, in a brief Preface to Eva Wigström's *polkdiktning*, found himself justified in charging the Swedes with relative neglect of their popular traditions. Yet that neglect was only relative. Several tendencies may be observed during the period in Sweden: one was the multiplying of books of ballads, usually with music, for the use of the general public; another was the publication of somewhat specialized works dealing either wholly with ballads or with a broader range of folklore; still another was the scientific study of ballad literature and the scholarly editing of texts.

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[1] Manuscript collections of folklore made by Dybeck in the years 1830–70 are kept in the archives of the Royal Academy of Letters (*Vitterhetsakademien*) at Stockholm: Folklore MSS No. 6.

Among the more special collections, the *Historiska och politiska Visor* of Hyltén-Cavallius[1] and Stephens, appearing in 1853, takes more than common rank. As the editors point out, this group of historical ballads, from the earliest times down to 1650, is more deserving of notice for its national emphasis than for poetical merit. The selections are drawn from manuscripts or from scarce printed sources. Hyltén-Cavallius is most favorably remembered, in a somewhat broader field of folklore, for his excellent parochial study, *Wärend och Wirdarne* (1863). Djurklou's *Ur Nerikes folkspråk och folklif* (1860) contains, besides traditional ballads, other popular survivals, like proverbs, folk-tales, and children's games, all from the one district of Nerike. His materials were gathered by the aid of a local organization. Eva Wigström, too, had the benefit of the support of a society in the province of Skåne. Her *Skånska visor* appeared in 1880 under the auspices of the society. With the encouragement of Grundtvig and with some supervision from him, she published two further volumes from the same province, under the title of *Folkdiktning* (1880–81), including ballads and other lore.[1]

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[1] O. G. Hyltén-Cavallius ranks as the foremost of the Swedish collectors. In commemoration of his work, the Hyltén-Cavallius Foundation for Swedish Folklore was established at the University of Lund in 1918; the Foundation is the centre of energetic collecting activities and research under the leadership of *Docent* C. W. von Sydow. George Stephens was later an associate of Grundtvig and one of Child's correspondents. The Hyltén-Cavallius–Stephens manuscript collection of ballads, airs, and other folklore, in large part still unpublished, is in the possession of the Royal Library at Stockholm; some of the materials are arranged in partial preparation for an edition of Heroic and Romantic ballads: MS *Vitt. sv. saml. 4.* A manuscript collection of Swedish and Danish ballads made by Stephens is in the University Library at Copenhagen: *Addit. 685, 4°.*

In 1884, Adolf Noreen and Henrik Schück[2] began the publication of the existing older manuscript collections, in the series which is still in progress under the general designation of *1500- och 1600-talens visböcker*. These are editions of the texts gathered, under circumstances like those prevailing at the same general period in Denmark, by individuals usually of the higher order of society. Whereas Grundtvig elected to publish the entire corpus of versions drawn together from all available sources, the Swedish scholars chose the different method of making available in print the funds of ballad text in their original collected form. Twelve such manuscripts have been issued so far, containing not only a good number of traditional ballads but also other poetry of different narrative and lyric types. While these collections lack the peculiar advantages inherent in the Grundtvig conspectus, the Swedish source books thus published will provide the indispensable groundwork for any scholarly treatment that may suggest itself.

Much of the material gathered by the collectors of the nineteenth century still remains unpublished. Besides the manuscript collections already mentioned as existing in various depositaries, a few others remain to be used by some future general editor, such as the Borgström MSS of the

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[1] Eva Wigström (Ave) published some *Folkvisor från Skåne* in Artur Hazelius's *Ur de nordiska folkens Lif*, Stockholm, 1882. In the archives of Nordiska Museet (the Northern Museum) may be seen some letters from Eva Wigström to Hazelius: Packet 202; also some letters from Svend Grundtvig to Hazelius: Packet 488. Letters from Eva Wigström to Grundtvig are extant among the Grundtvig papers in Copenhagen.

[2] Later editors, with Noreen, have been J. A. Lundell and A. Grape.

'forties and the Hultin MSS of the 'fifties, in the Royal Academy of Letters. In the same archives will be found valuable ballad texts gathered by G. Ericsson[1] in the 'seventies and earlier, and two hundred and seventy-five ballads with airs collected by L. C. Wiede, 1840–75. The recorded findings of other individuals, like August Bondeson,[2] and of organizations would materially increase the tally of texts. While most of the earlier collectors had been more or less interested in popular music, the folk-music collection of the late Nils Andersson in Lund deserves special notice.

A conspicuous feature of the interest in folklore in Sweden since about the middle of the nineteenth century has been the organization of numerous societies, mostly provincial and local, devoted to a varied range of activities. Some of these in the course of time have ceased to function, only to be succeeded by others with related aims. During the last twenty years or so, a tendency has been observable among the societies to restrict themselves more definitely to what is commonly known as folklore, whereas in the latter decades of the nineteenth century they devoted themselves in great part to the preservation of more tangible relics in museums, no doubt largely under the influence of the admirable work of Artur Hazelius[3] in founding and fostering the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm. Among the more energetic societies at the present time are the West-Swedish Folklore Society in Gothenburg and the Folklore Society in Lund. The society in Lund publishes the useful periodical *Folkminnen och*

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[1] Some of Ericsson's ballads have been published in *Bidrag till Södermanlands äldre kulturhistoria*, 1877 ff., from texts in the possession of Södermanlands Fornminnesförening, and ballads and airs from other collectors as well. Ericsson's collections have recently been transferred by the society to the Swedish Dialect Society in Upsala (Undersökningen av svenska folkmål). Portions of his materials are to be found in the archives of the Academy of Letters and of Nordiska Museet in Stockholm.

[2] A sketch of Bondeson's activities as a collector will be found in the Helsingfors periodical *Brage*, VIII–XI (1913–16), 90–103.

[3] For a study of the heroic labors of Artur Hazelius in founding the Northern Museum and developing its splendid collections, among which will be found not a little ballad material, see Fredrik Böök's *Artur Hazelius*, Stockholm, 1923.

Folktankar, under the editorship of C. W. von Sydow and others. Both in earlier and later times various periodicals, for the most part under the control of the societies, have done much to further folkloristic interests, among the more important being the *Svenska landsmålen*, which has provided a valuable medium of publication and a forum for learned discussion.

Not only individuals and societies but institutions of more or less official character have taken a direct part in collecting and preserving the older memorials of the people. The universities at Upsala and Lund and the Gothenburg High School have been prominent foci of activity. Organizations and individuals have frequently enjoyed financial support from the state. A most important step was taken in 1920 through the appointment of a government commission of experts who were to report on the state of research in popular antiquities throughout the nation. The report of the commission, published in 1924, forms an invaluable survey of the history of folklore and related subjects in Sweden and presents carefully motivated proposals for a further systematization of existing agencies and enterprises.[1]

The periodical *Svenska landsmålen* was for a time under the joint patronage of the dialect societies of Lund, Upsala, and Helsingfors. Here we have a link between the Swedes of Sweden and the Swedes of Finland. Literary connections of the two branches of the one race will occur to mind with the names of such Swedish Finlanders as Runeberg and Topelius. In the special domain of folklore, it must be borne in mind that Arvidsson himself was an exile from Finland who did his most important work in Sweden and with Swedish popular materials; yet in his ballad collection was included a large number of pieces derived directly from the land of his birth. The publication of his *Svenska fornsånger* therefore had a significant bearing in wakening among the Swedes of Finland an interest in the Germanic folklore of their own country, particularly in its close relation to the folklore of the mainland. In the decades of the nineteenth century preceding Arvidsson's work, the Swedish Finlanders, while maintaining their language and culture in other respects, had neglected their own popular relics. The reasons were in great measure political and in part must be laid to an imperfect understanding of the value of the variations of Swedish tales and ballads that had grown up in Finland and of the newer folklore that had sprung up under the new conditions.

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[1] *Betänkande med Förslag till ett systematiskt Utforskande av den svenska Allmogekulturen* (Statens offentliga Utredningar, 1924–27: *Ecklesiastikdepartementet*): I. *Huvudbetänkande och Förslag*. II. *Allmogeforskningen i Sverige och dess nordiska Grannländer*, Stockholm, 1924. Vol. II contains good accounts of the history of similar research in Denmark, Norway, Finland, Swedish Lapland, and the old Baltic provinces of Sweden. The proposals of the commission, as formulated in vol. I, pp. 134 ff., look to the establishment of one central folklore agency, one folk-speech agency, and one place-name agency, under one or the other of which the now existing agencies might be more or less closely grouped. A concise story of Swedish folklore, from the hand of C. W. von Sydow, is included in John Meier's *Nordische Volkskundeforschung*, Leipzig, 1927. A readable and trustworthy book on the ballad in particular is that of Sverker Ek, *Den svenska Folkvisan* (Natur och Kultur, 29), Stockholm, 1924. For other works by Von Sydow, see the bibliography. The ballads as a part of Swedish literature have been treated comprehensively by Henrik Schück in his *Illustrerad svensk Litteraturhistoria* (3d ed., 1926 ff.), I, 292 ff., 422 ff.

In the fourth and fifth decades of the century the country saw arising, as if by magic, the great structure of the more strictly Finnish folklore with which the names of Lönnrot and Castrén have become permanently associated, the *Kalevala* and all the mass of popular literature that groups itself about the celebrated epic. The importance of Lönnrot's brilliant reconstruction of the scattered songs into an epic whole, the immense interest attaching to the further recoveries of similar Finnish survivals from that day to this, the invaluable results that have accrued to the science of comparative folklore from the scholarly treatment of the Finnish treasure trove by such men as Julius Krohn, Kaarle Krohn, Antti Aarne, and others can only be hinted at here. The Finnish Literary Society, founded in 1831, has for a century been a strong unifying force. Folklore in Finland has long shown a fine mingling of scholarly severity and patriotic devotion for the native literature. Yet the Finns have fully recognized the international aspects of the subject. The Folklore Fellows, a society founded in 1907, and their *Communications* acknowledge no narrow metes and bounds. Finnish folklore today occupies a most enviable position, not only by reason of the vast resources of songs, ballads, riddles, tales, and the like which constitute the national thesaurus, but by reason of the general recognition the world is willing to accord the scholars of what may be termed the Finnish school.[1] The illustrative power of the folklore of Finland in the elucidation of the Germanic ballads, their origins, their modes of transmission, the epic problems connected with them, the mythic constituents of some among them, and the story relations of many others can be pointed out here only by the way. Despite these connections in general, despite certain closer parallelisms of theme, there is a wide separation between the popular literature of the Finns and that of the Swedish Finlanders and the remoter Germanic peoples. We must return to the Swedish provinces of Finland.[2]

The *Kalevala* had a marked influence in stirring up a spirit of emulation among the Swedish population; it was some time, however, before the movement was in full career. Among those who deserve special mention is J. O. I. Rancken, who as early as 1848 issued a summons [3] to patriotic countrymen to do something for the cause of Swedish folklore in the country. He was himself an energetic collector, as will appear from the fact that in 1874 and 1890 he published a catalogue[1] of manuscript items of folklore, mostly ballads, at that time in his possession; in 1874 he also issued a small book of specimens of ballads, ballad airs, and folk-tales, *Några Prof af Folksång och Saga*. Other men took up the work of collection on a smaller scale. The *Album utgifvet af Nyländingar* (1860–81), published sporadically as an ostensible annual by a group connected with the province of Nyland, provided a means for placing the contributions of individual collectors and for the publication of folklore essays. In 1885 occurred an event of the most auspicious moment for the cause not only of folklore but of the language, the literature, and the history of the Swedes in Finland, the organization of the Swedish Literary Society in Finland. This wisely planned and faithfully supported organization has done nothing less than a remarkable work within its field: in sending out collectors to gather folklore of all kinds in the various Swedish provinces, in maintaining folklore archives under competent leadership, and in publishing a splendid series of works covering the various departments of its interests. In 1910, according to an anniversary report of that year, the society had in its archives, besides a wealth of other materials, more than eight thousand ballad texts, including variants. In recent years the society has begun the publication, under a careful editorial plan,[2] of its folklore materials. The turn has not yet come to the ballads. In the meantime, Ernst Lagus, who has deserved well of the society, published as early as 1887–

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[1] For a description of the Finnish method and some of its connections, see Archer Taylor, "Precursors of the Finnish Method of Folk-Lore Study," in *Modern Philology*, XXV, No. 4 (May, 1928), 481–491. A capital work on the history and methodology of Finnish (and more generally Northern) folklore is Kaarle Krohn's *Die Folkloristische Arbeitsmethode* (Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning: Serie B: Skrifter V), Oslo, etc., 1926.

Aarne's classic "Verzeichnis der Märchentypen" (*FF Communications*, No. 3) has just been translated and enlarged by Professor Stith Thompson: "The Types of the Folk-tale" (*FF Communications*, No. 74, Helsinki, 1928).

[2] For a somewhat detailed sketch of the history of folklore in Finland, see Kaarle Krohn, "Histoire du Traditionnisme en Finlande," in the French review *La Tradition*, February, March, and April, 1890; Ferd. Ohrt, "Ti Aars finsk Folkesangsforskning," in the Norwegian periodical *Edda*, vol. VII, Pt. 13, No. 1 (1920), pp. 141–158. An authoritative view from the vantage of the present is Kaarle Krohn's survey in *Nordische Volkskundeforschung*, ed. John Meier, Leipzig, 1927. See also the occasional bibliographies in the volumes of *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*.

[3] In the periodical *Ilmarinen*, April 1, 1848.

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[1] J. O. I. Rancken, *Förteckning öfver Folksånger, Melodier, Sagor och Äfventyr från det svenska Österbotten i Handskrift samlade*, 2 vols.: I. Nikolaistad, 1874; II. Wasa, 1890.

[2] At the request of the folklore committee of the society, Professor J. A. Lundell of Upsala in 1909 formulated a detailed scheme for the publication of the folklore collections; a strong point in his recommendations was that extensive publication of materials ought to precede scholarly disquisitions based on the texts; his report is printed in serial No. 91 of the publications of the society: *Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland. Förhandlingar och Uppsatser*, No. 23 (1909), pp. xlviii–li.

1900 a good collection of ballads and other poetry, under the title of *Nyländska Folkvisor*. Admirable results may be confidently looked for when the society in due course proceeds to edit its ballad collection.[1]

There are various reasons for the tardiness with which Norway entered the race for the collection of native folklore. During the eighteenth century, under the Danish régime, officialdom could hardly be expected to be much concerned with what the country folk were singing and saying. Urban Norwegians governed their literary tastes by what happened to be the mode of the day in Denmark and elsewhere aboard. Rustic Norway was no more likely to reduce its own popular song and story to permanent record than was rustic Sweden or Denmark. With the beginning of the nineteenth century and especially with the return of full national independence in 1814, literary and political circumstances suffered a change that after the lapse of some time led to effective work in rescuing the ballads and legends of Norway. The legends and the folk-tales, however, came to the front before the ballads. Faye's important but not wholly impeccable collection of legends, *Norske Folke-Sagn*, appeared in 1833, and Asbjørnsen and Moe's classic folk-tales followed in 1842–43. The middle of the century was to pass before the ballads found their turn. Meanwhile a sketch of the ballad history of the first half of the century will reveal the contours of the subject.

The first approximation to a Norwegian ballad collection really was nothing more than an appendix to a linguistic work, Hallager's *Norske Ord* (1802); and this baker's dozen of poems, intended to illustrate the state of the Norwegian, as distinguished from the Old Norse and the Danish tongues, were for the most part poems written in a popular vein by writers of name. Another small contribution came to light in an antiquarian work, Klüwer's *Norske Mindesmærker* (1823); only two ballads in this case, one a late version of no great value, and the other a good text of the popular favorite, *Lage og Jon*. It is to be remembered, meanwhile, that two Norwegians, Steenbloch and Rønnau, had sent respectable batches of texts and music to Nyerup for incorporation in the *Udvalgte danske Viser*.

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[1] On the general history of folklore enterprises in the Swedish provinces of Finland, see Otto Anderson, in the Helsingfors periodical *Brage*, IV (1909), 37–93. On the activities of the Swedish Society of Literature in Finland, see especially the twenty-fifth anniversary volume (*Minneskrift*), serial No. 90 of the publications: pp. 1 ff., a general survey of the work of the organization, by Arvid Hultin; pp. 173 ff., a historical and statistical account of the folklore collections, by Ernst Lagus. In serial No. 20 (No. 6 of the *Förhandlingar och Uppsatser*, 1890–92), pp. 79–90, will be found a bibliography, prepared by Ernst Lagus, of works sorting under Swedish-Finnish folklore during the period 1795–1891. Cf. more recent numbers of the publications.

Among the individual collectors, the clergyman S. O. Wolff deserves mention. As early as the third decade of the century he gathered some ballad and legendary materials; unfortunately, he never published a formal collection, though there are literary evidences of his interests in poems and prose sketches; some of the materials he copied down from tradition went to enrich the garners of other men like Faye and Landstad.[1] The first ballad collection to bear the name with some justice was that arranged by the publisher Malling and printed in 1840, with an Introduction by Jørgen Moe.[2] In this case, too, it is evident that the hoard of true ballads has not yet been disclosed; the larger part of the book is occupied with dialect poems by known authors, but the rest is popular poetry in the real sense of the term, including both narratives and the peculiar lyric quatrains known as *stev*.[3] Moe's Introduction is a document of some importance. In it he argues that national poetry cannot lose its connection with the poetry of the folk without suffering harm, and that the national speech also must be constantly renewed at the same fount. As to the folk-poetry in the volume, he quotes with approval the testimony of a popular couplet to the effect that these verses have made themselves. This book was edited anew, with some changes, in 1848, by P. A. Munch, and once more, in 1869, by Hans Ross, in both cases with airs supplied by Lindeman; Ross's edition has to a great degree the character of a new work, a number of pieces of a non-popular kind having given place to traditional pieces, some of them from the collections of M. B. Landstad and of Sophus Bugge.

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[1] See Rikard Berge, *Simon Olaus Wolff*, in the series Norske Folkeminnesamlarar, II, 4.

[2] Jørgen Moe, *Samling af Sange, Folkeviser og Stev i norske Almuedialekter*, Christiania, 1840.

[3] On the *stev*, see especially R. Steffen, "Enstrofig nordisk Folklyrik," in *Svenska Landsmålen* (1898), Pt. 63; also his "Norska Stev" (*ibid.*), 1899, Pt. 66.

Jørgen Moe himself did a good deal of collecting of folklore, particularly during the course of journeys undertaken for the purpose and with the support of public funds in the years 1846 and 1847, and later. Even before that time he had been planning an edition of ballads together with P. A. Munch;[1] and in the official report of his journey of 1846 he states that he and Munch are intending to proceed with the enterprise but that further collecting must be done.[2] Early in the 'forties Moe was engaged in studying, with a view to editing, a collection formed by Olea Crøger in Telemark. Neither this project nor the association with P. A. Munch led to any publication on the part of Moe. His time and interests were eventually absorbed in clerical duties, and finally, in 1865, he made a division of his collections of folk-tales and ballads between Asbjørnsen and Bugge, the former getting the folk-tales and the latter the ballads.[3] Moe's own poetry shows the influence of folk literature.

The manuscript collections formed by Miss Crøger, after coming back to her from Moe, were entrusted to another prospective editor; on his relinquishing the task in 1844, she turned to Landstad and shortly sold her accumulations to him. Landstad himself, in his Telemark parsonage, had been making notations of ballads from the lips of local reciters, a valuable harvest from a province generally regarded as the richest in all of Norway in traditional poetry. It was only the relative dearth in other parts of the country that had created an impression up to this time that Norway as a whole was poverty-stricken in such survivals. To the fortunate combination of the talents and the devotion of Miss Crøger and Landstad at a crucial period the nation owes its first true garner of ballads.

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[1] See Moe's letter to Asbjørnsen, December 6, 1842, in Anders Krogvig's *Fra det nationale Gjennembruds Tid*, pp. 208 f.

[2] J. Moe, *Indberetning* (1846), pp. 269 ff. The reports upon his journeys of 1846 and 1847 were printed in *Norske Universitets- og Skole-Annaler* (1849, 2d series), V, Pt. 2, 269 ff. See also the volume of 1850.

[3] See Moe's letter to Asbjørnsen, January 16, 1865, as printed in Anders Krogvig's book cited above, pp. 286 f.

After the determination to bring his store before the public had ripened in Landstad, some years went by in negotiations with publishers and more particularly in preparing the critical apparatus and fixing upon the mode of editing the poetry. It must be remembered that the texts as they came into the possession of the editor bore the linguistic marks of their rustic transmission. It devolved upon the editor to adopt a unified system of dialectal and grammatical and orthographical principles; in this part of his task he had at various times the aid of Ivar Aasen, the great linguistic reformer, and of P. A. Munch, the historian. Such portion of Landstad's preparatory manuscripts as have survived show that the determination of the linguistic and critical form of the texts gave him no end of trouble. Professor Liestøl has published from Landstad's recently discovered manuscript the first tentative draft of the collection, as it had shaped itself toward publication about the years 1845–46;[1] between this original form and the final printed edition lies a world of change, both of language and of contents.

Landstad's finished collection, preceded by some specimens inserted in a periodical,[2] came from the hands of the printer in 1853, under the title of *Norske Folkeviser.* A mere glance at the volume of some nine hundred pages will indicate something of the value of the book. The contents include heroic and legendary ballads, the remarkable vision poem *Draumkvædet,*[1] romantic ballads, comic ballads, a large representation of the lyric *stev*, miscellaneous ballads of more recent date, and some lullabies and children's game rhymes; further, a number of airs, partly collected by Miss Crøger, under the editorial care of Lindeman. Landstad's Preface, a modest essay, calls attention to the value of his work for its relation to the older literature of the country and its importance to the rejuvenation of modern poetry; besides, he explains the main features of his editing on its linguistic side. In the notes to the various numbers he draws parallels between the ballads and the older native literature and the corresponding popular poetry of the neighboring countries. He also gives variants for a number of his readings and some information about his sources. In critical view of the whole material as well as in some other respects, Landstad leaves much to be desired. His texts in most cases are adjusted and in some instances prepared by a method of combination from different original sources. It was principally for this reason that he was fated to be put in the critical stocks by Grundtvig as an editor who had failed in his trust. Despite this correction by the great Danish authority, Landstad deserves much credit. We have seen how the English ballads fared, from Percy down. Norway has every reason to regard Landstad as England and Scotland regard Percy and Scott.[2]

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[1] M. B. Landstad, *Folkeviser fra Telemarken*, ed. by K. Liestøl, Oslo, 1925. On the newly found manuscripts of Landstad, see Henning Larsen's article in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, VIII, No. 3 (August, 1924), 84–87. Further, K. Liestøl, "M. B. Landstads *Norske Folkeviser*," in *Edda*, XXVI, Pt. 3 (1926), 1–19; other articles by the same writer are in prospect.

[2] "Prøver af Folkeviser samlede i Øvre Telmearken," in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Videnskab og Litteratur*, III (1849), 329–375. These texts represent an earlier critical stage than those in the edition of 1853.

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[1] On the vision poem, see especially Moltke Moe's commentary, with an essay on medieval vision poetry, in his *Samlede Skrifter*, III, 197–359. This article, like all the other articles in Liestøl's edition of Moe's *Works*, is accompanied by a summary in English, including here an English version of the poem. Another English translation is that of M. B. Ruud, in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, VII, No. 2 (February, 1922), 52–57.

[2] On Miss Crøger's work, see especially, H. G. Heggtveit and R. Berge's *Olea Crøger* (Norske Folkeminnesamlarar, II, 1). On Landstad, see R. Berge's *M. B. Landstad* (Norske Folkeminnesamlarar, II, 2); R. Laache and K. Liestøl, "Aktstykke til Soga um nordisk Folkeminnegransking" [Letters of Landstad, Jørgen Moe, Aasen, Miss Crøger, and others], in *Maal og Minne*, Pt. 1 (1926), pp. 1–63; and K. Liestøl, "M. B. Landstads *Norske Folkeviser*," in *Edda*, XXVI, Pt. 3

The work of Sophus Bugge in the accurate recording of ballads from the lips of the people and in the scholarly editing of what he found is of a quite superior character. In the summers of 1856 and 1857 he travelled through the rural districts of upper Telemark taking down ballads from recitation, in many cases from the same reciters who had supplied texts for Landstad. In this way Bugge was able to correct many of Landstad's readings and to supplement very considerably the available store of ballads. Bugge published twenty-eight pieces from his collections in 1858, under the title of *Gamle norske Folkeviser*. As he explains in the Preface, he has edited the texts without resorting to the combination of versions or to the emendation of readings or to the normalizing of the language, his purpose being to present the ballads in the linguistic and poetic shape in which he found them orally circulating. The result is a trustworthy body of popular poetry, accompanied with brief notes relating to foreign and native parallels, to variant readings, and to phenomena of language. In the next year he published a few additional texts, *Folkeviser fra övre Telemarken*, in the Copenhagen periodical *Folke*. During the summer of the same year he again visited Telemarken as a collector, with good results. At various times afterward, indeed as late as 1874, he is found gleaning in the fields. Now and then he returned to his earlier purpose of publishing still another collection, but for various reasons was diverted from his course.[1] For one

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(1926), 1–19. For Bugge's and Grundtvig's opinions of Landstad, see Liestøl's "Aktstykke til Soga um nordisk Folkeminnegransking," in *Maal og Minne*, Pt. 2 (1923), pp. 97–118.

[1] In the Norwegian Folklore Collection (Norsk Folkeminnesamling) at the University Library in Oslo there is extant in manuscript a ballad collection, in an advanced state of preparation, which Bugge intended to issue as a second volume of his collection of 1858; in the same repository will be found a fair copy of some 250 original ballad texts collected and reduced to writing by Bugge. In a letter of May 11, 1871, Bugge writes to Grundtvig that he is preparing an edition of Norwegian ballads to be drawn from earlier printed and manuscript sources; the project was never realized. For this letter and many others from Bugge to Grundtvig, see *Dansk Folkemindesamling*: (MSS) 180: Letters to Svend Grundtvig IX. Karl Aubert has published some letters from Bugge to Grundtvig, not including the one

thing, he had entered heart and soul into the business of providing texts and learned comments for Grundtvig's edition. He had many other scholarly interests besides. Meanwhile Bugge's deserts are not to be hastily adjudged. He wrote various special articles on ballad subjects.[1] He holds, according to competent opinion, the very first rank among Norwegian ballad collectors; Professor Liestøl informs me that in his own working catalog of the Norwegian ballads there is hardly a number under which a text from Bugge is not at hand, in many instances the unique text. Some of Bugge's materials have been published by others since his death;[2] the whole mass of his collectanea will be duly used in the preparation of a forthcoming definitive edition of the ballads of Norway.

Bugge's first collection was somewhat indebted, for both words and tunes, to L. M. Lindeman. It was he who had provided airs for many of the ballads in the second and third editions of the ballad collection commonly known as Jørgen Moe's. In 1848 Lindeman, who had been active in the matter of popular music for some years, travelled through the mountain regions of western Norway recording current ballad airs, folk-songs, and dance music. Representative collections of his are the three volumes of *Ældre og nyere norske Fjeldmelodier* (1853–67) and *Halvhundrede norske Fjeldmelodier* (1862). His harmonizations have been frequently reprinted in various forms and are still commonly to be met with in collections of the national music. In more recent years val-

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dated above, in *Maal og Minne* (1909), Pt. 1, pp. 52–64. Many interesting letters from Grundtvig to Bugge remain in the archives of the Norwegian Folklore Collection. Bugge's report on his journey of 1856 has been printed in Liestøl's "Aktstykke," in *Maal og Minne* (1923), Pt. 2, pp. 103–112. A sympathetic sketch of Bugge's activities may be read in Moe's *Samlede Skrifter*, II, 39–51. Other appreciations are those of Marius Kristensen and of Axel Olrik, in *Danske Studier* (1907), Pt. 4, pp. 177–192.

[1] See, for example, his "Bidrag til den nordiske Balladedigtnings Historie," in *Det philologisk-historiske Samfunds Mindeskrift* (Copenhagen, 1879), pp. 64–92.

[2] See, among other things, Rikard Berge's edition of *Norske Folkeviser av Samlingerne etter Sophus Bugge*, 1911; and *Nyare Stev*, from the collections of Bugge, in *Norsk Folkekultur*, XIII (1927), Pt. 1, 34–43.

uable studies of Norwegian popular music have been published by Catharinus Elling, O. M. Sandvik,[1] and others.

It is of particular interest to note that Ibsen in his earlier days enjoyed a public grant for the collecting of popular traditions. No ballad collection has come from him, but he has left a record of his occupation with these things in his essay "On the Popular Ballads and their Importance for Literature" and in one or two of his earlier plays.[2]

In 1878, Moltke Moe, the son of Jørgen Moe, made a journey through parts of Telemark for the purpose of collecting traditions. According to the formal report of his researches, he found on this occasion a larger number of hitherto unknown folk-tales than of ballads. In 1882 he petitioned the national parliament for a grant in order to continue his quest; in the course of the petition he points out that the ballads of the heroic type have practically disappeared and that other types are rapidly going the same way; moreover a long period has been permitted to elapse since the last determined efforts were made in the field by Landstad and Bugge: prompt action is imperative to save the remnants that still survive. He was granted a stipend for the years 1882–83 and again for the biennium 1884–85; by means of such aid he was able not only to resume his personal collecting but to do something for the organization of systematic explorations through volunteer assistants in various places. In the meantime, in answer to a request directed to him, he had given in the periodical *Fedraheimen* (1880), a bibliography[3] of the principal publications in the domain of folklore that had appeared in the country up to that time; folk-tales and legends have a rather more prominent place in this list than have ballads; the critical literature on the entire subject he finds rather sparse and to a great extent antiquated. In connection with the bibliography he gives some useful instructions suitable for the guidance of amateurs who might be disposed to take a hand in recording oral survivals.[1]

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[1] For works by Elling and Sandvik, see the bibliography.

[2] See *Ibsen's Early Plays* (Scandinavian Classics, vol. XVII), translated by Anders Orbeck, New York, 1921.

[3] Reproduced by Felix Liebrecht in *Germania*, XXV (1880) (N. S., XIII), 388–393.

A few years afterward Moe was appointed professor of folklore and folk-speech in the University. As such he delivered a long course of lectures on the ballads, in which he insisted that popular poetry differs from art poetry, that every ballad must originally have been composed by one gifted individual, but that later it passed into the keeping of the homogeneous people and took its further character from the continued composing of successive reciters.[2] He expresses the same views in a brief but excellent article from the year 1902, entitled "Norwegian Popular Literature";[3] here he expresses also his conviction that the language and the polite literature of Norway must find periodic renewal in the well-spring of folk-speech and folk-poetry, even as these have already exerted a powerful influence on the foremost writers of the land, such as Wergeland, Welhaven, Ibsen, Bjørnson, and Garborg. Moe's services to Norwegian folklore are not to be measured by his published works alone; these were all too few; as a collector, as a cause of good deeds in other men, as a university lecturer he made himself felt in widening circles.[4]

Since Moe's bibliography of 1880, the printed resources of Norwegian folklore have grown immensely; many individuals have published their collections in the various departments of the subject, and provincial and national organizations[1] have added their contributions in periodical literature and in larger works. Meanwhile collecting has been prosecuted with great industry. The chief repository is the *Norsk Folkeminnesamling* (1914–) at the university library, under the direction of Professor Liestøl, the pupil and successor of Moe; there are also various provincial archives.

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[1] Moltke Moe, *Samlede Skrifter* (ed. Liestøl), I, 83 ff. Moe's report of his journey in 1878 may be seen, *ibid.*, p. 1 ff. The student of folklore would do well to make himself acquainted with the volumes of Moe's *Works*; there are summaries in English of all of the articles. On the general history of traditional literature in Norway, and its European backgrounds, see particularly his "Det nationale Gjennembrud og dets Mænd," in the *Samlede Skrifter*, III, 1–196.

[2] MS, 3 vols., in the archives of the Norwegian Folklore Collection.

[3] M. Moe, *Samlede Skrifter*, I, 260–264.

[4] For appreciative estimates of Moe's personality and influence, see Gerhard Gran's "Moltke Moe," in *Edda*, I (1914), Pt. 1, 1–18; and Axel Olrik's, "Personal Impressions of Moltke Moe," in *FF Communications*, No. 17 (1917), pp. 1–76; Olrik's article was first published, substantially in the same form, in *Danske Studier* (1915), pp. 1–55.

A number of smaller and larger ballad collections have been published in Norway during the last decade or two. The Norwegians have taken a course different from that of either the Danes or the Swedes. The Norwegian plan has been to provide a useful popular edition first; that has already made its appearance in the *Norske Folkevisor* (1920–24), edited by Professor Liestøl on the basis of valuable preparatory studies conducted by Moltke Moe. A definitive edition of the Norwegian corpus is under preparation by Professor Liestøl and Rikard Berge. Both of these men have done much for the popular understanding of the subject through periodical articles, handbooks, and the like. An outstanding critical work of recent years is Liestøl's *Norske Trollvisor og norrøne Sogor* (1915). His *Norske Ættesogor* (1922) is a most interesting demonstration of the continuity and the general trustworthiness of relatively modern development of a family saga under conditions that throw light on the genesis and the perpetuation of ancient saga. In the field of the folk-tale valuable critical and historical studies have come from the hand of R. T. Christiansen,[2] assistant curator of the Folkeminnesamling.

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[1] The most important of these is the *Norsk Folkeminnelag*, which since its organization in 1920 has published a valuable series of folklore studies and collections.

[2] The student should consult Christiansen's *Norske Folkeminne. En Veiledning for Samlere og Interesserte* (Norsk Folkeminnelag, XII), Oslo, 1925; his *Norske Eventyr. En systematisk Fortegnelse*, Kristiania, 1921; and a summary of the foregoing work, "The Norwegian Fairytales," in *FF Communications*, XII (1922), No. 46, 1–40. On the general history of folklore in Norway, see also his "Die Zentralisation der Sammlungsarbeit in Norwegen," in *FF Communications*, No. 29 (1920), pp. 59–64, and his article in *Nordische Volkskundeforschung*. Other works of a similar purpose are R. Berge's "Norskt Folkevisearbeid," in the periodical *Norsk Folkekultur*, III (1917), 1–33; and Liestøl's *Norsk Folkedikting* (Norske Folkeskrifter, No. 62), Oslo, 1922.

A peculiarly important phase of the history of Norwegian folklore has to do with its close association with the *landsmaal* movement, in which respect it is linked in a continuous chain of relationship to the pioneer work of Ivar Aasen. In so far folklore in Norway has definite political bearings, and more significantly, folklore and folk-speech, in all of their varying aspects, are bound up indissolubly with a vigorous and hopeful and promising spirit of intense national zeal and national pride. The popular ballad of Norway is in a real sense the vital bridge between the ancient Norway of saga and story and the new Norway that rests on a deep foundation of native character and an essentially popular national genius.

Romantic influences were somewhat slow in reaching Iceland; during the first third of the nineteenth century, though the native interest in the sagas and the antiquarian researches and the ancient rhymed poetry based on saga themes continued to be somewhat effective, the intellectual complexion of the land remained much as in the eighteenth century. Rask's visit in Iceland (1813 to 1815) had a stimulating effect but naturally in the direction of linguistic science rather than in the direction of poetry or even of folklore. Largely through his initiative was founded the Literary Society of Iceland in 1816, which had branches both in Denmark and Iceland and in the course of time has exerted itself notably in the publication of useful literature. During the last hundred years the polite letters of Iceland have yielded many good things; perhaps most striking would be the output of lyrical poetry.

The popular ballad, as we know it, came into Iceland from Denmark in the fifteenth century, bringing its Danish content along with the form. According to Finnur Jónsson, the ballad has never penetrated very deeply among the people and so has remained rather a foreign and literary than a popular phenomenon.[1] An Icelandic writer, reviewing the literary history of his country in the year 1881[1] has nothing to say about ballad collecting or collections but very properly makes a point of Jón Árnason's valuable collection of Icelandic legends and folk-tales (1862–65).[2] Ólafur Davíðsson later published a large array of riddles and other folklore.[3]

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[1] F. Jónsson, *Den islandske Litteraturs Historie* (1907), pp. 409–410.

Svend Grundtvig and Jón Sigurðsson published (1854–85) a collection, in two sizable volumes, of Icelandic popular ballads, under the title of *Íslenzk Fornkvæði*.[4] These are true ballads of the traditional type familiar to readers from the British and Scandinavian collections. According to notations of the editors, some of these ballads have parallels only in Danish, others in Danish and Swedish, still others have wider relationships with Scandinavian, British, or Romance versions. Even remoter affiliations are noticeable in a few cases. Instances occur, on the other hand, where the Icelandic text constitutes the only known ballad on the given theme; the theme may be foreign, say Swedish, or it may be native to Iceland, so far as evidence is decisive. Of the latter type is the ballad of Gunnar, the story of which comes from *Njal's Saga*. On the whole, however, these Icelandic ballads are interesting not so much for their indigenous qualities as for their corroborative importance as parallels to foreign, especially Danish, versions.

One reason why the popular ballad did not take a firm hold upon the people in Iceland no doubt is to be found in the circumstance that since the fourteenth century Iceland had nurtured a narrative poetry not unlike the ballad in some formal respects but nevertheless to be distinguished from it. This poetry, under the name of *rímur* from the characteristic features of rhyme connected with it, began historically in the versification of saga or other story. In the course of time it was adapted to various narrative purposes, and gradually developed lyric inductions and lyric envoys which tended to become stereotyped. The *rímur* were always a form of art poetry, and as such continued to be composed well into the nineteenth century. In relation to the dance, the *rímur* have occupied in Iceland the position held by the ballad, notably in the Faroe Islands. An excellent collection of the older *rímur* has recently been edited by Finnur Jónsson.[1] Of particular interest to English readers will be the Icelandic *rímur* dealing with the Gowrie conspiracy.[2]

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[1] Jónas Jónasson, in *Tímarit hins Íslenzka Bókmentafèlags* (*Review of the Literary Society of Iceland*), II (1881), 191 ff.

[2] Jón Árnason, *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og Æfintýri*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1862–65.

[3] Olafur Davíðsson, *Íslenzkar þulur og þjóðkvæði*, Copenhagen, 1898–99, etc.

[4] The last part of the collection, as printed, appeared after Grundtvig's death. Some of the material remained unpublished.

The popular poetry of the Faroe Islands is of peculiar moment in several respects, not least in its connection with the dance, the singing of ballads having served the islanders in lieu of musical instruments for a number of centuries. Hjalmar Thuren, the authority on the Faroe traditions, holds the opinion that the dance itself can be traced back to medieval and particularly French dances, and that the airs are probably to a large extent a local development under some early Celtic influence. The narrative songs themselves are of differing types and different origins. Curiously enough, the subjects, with the single exception of materials having to do with Sigmund Bresteson, an early Faroe worthy, are borrowed from Iceland or Norway or even, by largely Norwegian mediation, from more southerly sources. The most important cycle has to do with Sigurd Fafnirsbane; others have to do with medieval story from the south of Europe, such as the Charlemagne cycle; others are adaptations of Norwegian ballads or direct importations of Danish ballads. The Sigurd songs perhaps go back as far as the fourteenth century; the Icelandic and Norwegian materials of other sorts are also ancient; the Danish ballads reached the Faroes with the establishment of Danish trade relations in the sixteenth

[1] Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn. Samling af de ældste islandske Rimer*, 1905–22.

[2] W. A. Craigie, *Skotlands Rímur. Icelandic Ballads on the Gowrie Conspiracy*, 1908. During the years 1890–98 there was published in Iceland an annual, *Huld*, containing a number of legends and folk-tales and some specimens of verse, but no popular ballads.

century. In narrative form and style the Faroe songs approach on the one side the longer Icelandic *rímur* and on the other the shorter romantic ballads of the Danish collections.[1]

Although there are literary references to the ballads and dances of the Faroes dating back two or three centuries, the first collection of the songs belongs to the latter part of the eighteenth century. From 1781 to 1782, J. C. Svabo made a collection which still remains in manuscript in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The first published collection is that of H. C. Lyngbye (1822), a Dane who went to the Faroes on a botanical errand and brought home an incidental harvest of songs. His book is devoted mainly to the songs belonging to the Sigurd cycle. The great importance of these poems for the comparative study of the Germanic heroic legends is brought out in an essay prefixed to Lyngbye's texts, written by P. E. Müller, which had much to do with drawing deserved attention to the poems; Müller, however, is in error in ascribing to the Faroe songs an antiquity of a thousand years. Lyngbye practically had to invent his own Faroe orthography; he was hardly equipped to do so, as later critics, like Hammershaimb, have pointed out. Furthermore, Lyngbye's texts suffered from his practice of making composite versions.[2]

V. U. Hammershaimb, in publishing his *Sjúrðar Kvæði* (*Sigurd Ballads*: 1851) found it necessary, particularly on account of the linguistic faults of Lyngbye, to re-edit the songs that had already appeared in Lyngbye's book. To these he made some additions. He confesses later,[3] however, that in this edition he permitted himself to produce his texts by putting together several versions. This fault he avoided in a second volume, published under the title of *Færøiske Kvæder* in 1855. The materials in the second volume represent some of the other heroic stories; here we find, too, the

[1] Hjalmar Thuren, *Folkesangen paa Færøerne*, 1908.

[2] H. C. Lyngbye, *Færøiske Qvæder*, 1822.

[3] V. U. Hammershaimb, *Færøsk Anthologi*, I, liii.

presumably oldest of the importations from Norway, the *Margaret* ballad, so called. In his *Færøsk Anthologi* (1886–91) Hammershaimb published a good collection of the more romantic ballads. This book further contains legends and riddles and an elaborate glossary. The Introduction is a particularly valuable orientation in the geography, history, language, and domestic economy of the islanders, all with special reference to the ballads and dances that have lifted this small group of people from obscurity.

Among the earlier local collectors of ballads should be mentioned the Rev. J. H. Schröter, who also translated part of the gospels into the language of the Islands. Other native collectors in the course of time managed to gather a good store of poetry, most of which has gone to swell the treasures in Copenhagen. In the Royal Library of that city are to be found sixteen large quarto volumes containing ballads arranged and catalogued by J. Bloch and Svend Grundtvig, from materials largely supplied by the Faroe collectors mentioned above, including Svabo. Outside of the printed books of ballads, this manuscript, *Corpus Carminum Færoensium*, is an outstanding performance. Svend Grundtvig found a place for many Faroe versions in his great collection of ballads. Jakob Jakobsen published (1898 to 1901) a good collection of legends and folk-tales, *Færøske Folkesagn og Æventyr*. Thuren's book, already referred to above, contains a large number of ballad airs and a capable critical account of Faroe music.[1]

Geographically the Faroes adjoin Shetland. In this connection we may find in the surviving Scandinavian refrain of the Shetland ballad of *King Orfeo* a slender but visible bridge between the Scandinavian ballads and the British. In the work of Grundtvig, whose long arm we have seen stretching out even to the Faroes, will be discovered many other links of ballad relationships about the North Sea.

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[1] A recent work of great importance in this field is Hjalmar Thuren and H. Grüner Nielsen's *Færøske Melodier til danske Kæmpeviser*.

CHAPTER VII

SVEND GRUNDTVIG AND THE MODERN SCHOOL IN DENMARK

> In the editing of these ballads I have closely followed the plan of Grundtvig's *Old Popular Ballads of Denmark*, a work which will be prized highest by those who have used it most.
>
> F. J. Child: Advertisement to *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads.*

THE work of Svend Grundtvig marks a distinct departure in methods of editing ballads so far as Denmark is concerned and indeed so far as the whole of ballad history is concerned. We have seen at different times, among the editors of various countries, approaches to the Grundtvig principles, in such men as Ritson, Motherwell, and a few besides. But no one of them developed a system so thoroughgoing as that of Grundtvig; and none of them possessed the vast funds of materials which enabled the Danish editor to carry out his system in such imposing detail and on so grand a scale. If it be said, as it must be said, that Grundtvig profited by the experiences and by the collective industry and learning of his predecessors in many lands, nevertheless he made exceptional use of his opportunities and his efforts led to remarkable results in accomplishment and influence. Only recently the edition of the Danish ballads begun by him has been brought to something like a conclusion according to the plans he made. In the meantime, the edition of the English and Scottish ballads was begun and finished by Child according to the principles inaugurated by Grundtvig.

Svend Grundtvig was no more than fifteen years of age when his father, in 1839, came into possession of a collection of ballads and other poems in a manuscript dating from the seventeenth century. From that time his interests were bound up in the study of the ballads of his native land and in the purpose of making an edition of them himself. As early as 1842 he privately approached a number of influential men with requests for assistance in furthering his projects, among them the poet Ingemann and the historian C. Paludan-Müller. The letters he received in response were almost uniformly encouraging, in several cases carrying the promise of immediate practical assistance in searching the traditional resources among the country folk.

In 1843 the boy had the good fortune to accompany his father on a visit of some duration in Great Britain. The Grundtvig manuscripts in the Royal Library at Copenhagen give evidence that he made good use of his time in seeking out at the British Museum and at other libraries collections of English and Scottish ballads that he had hitherto had no means of making himself familiar with. From the diary and the notebooks belonging to the period we are enabled to trace his movements and the progress of his labors. There are records of his copying a number of the British ballads from the collections of Herd, Sharpe, and others. Particularly noteworthy at this time is his study of Motherwell, since the tenets of this Scottish editor are found to have had later a material effect on his own ideas. Further, he made a list of British printed collections not previously known to him. Among these the record shows that he bought for his own use copies of Motherwell, Kinloch, and Buchan. Before returning home he visited the Ashmolean, the Bodleian, and the Advocates' libraries, and looked in at Abbotsford.[1]

When the Grundtvig manuscripts came to be arranged in order in the Royal Library, there was found in the diary of his English journey a loose leaf on which Grundtvig had entered what he calls a *budget*, having the appearance of a detailed scheme for works he expected to undertake in the future. Internal evidence would place this budget, if not actually in the year of the visit to England, 1843, at least very near that time. The document testifies to the consciousness of purpose and the mature intelligence with which the youthful scholar prosecuted preparations for what he clearly regarded as his calling; it helps as well to explain, what otherwise might partake of the nature of a prodigy, the easy assurance with which, three or four years later, he was to carry on the polemics in which he became embroiled on making public the plans for his great edition of the ballads. The budget comprises three main divisions, covering popular poetry, linguistic studies, and history. The historical project embraces genealogical researches upon the royalty and the nobility of Denmark, and a survey of the whole extent of Danish poetry. The linguistic scheme includes studies in Danish orthography, in Danish dialects, in the comparative relations of all the Scandinavian languages, in the history of the Danish language, in Danish popular proverbs, in Faroe lexicography. In the field of popular poetry he plans the following works: (1) a complete critical edition of the popular poetry of Denmark (with C. S. Ley); (2) a selected edition for the general reader; (3) English and Scottish ballads in Danish translation; (4) English and Scottish ballads in the original, with an appendix of Danish ballads translated into Scottish; (5) Faroe ballads in the original (in collaboration with some Faroe editor), and the same ballads in a Danish translation; (6) Icelandic ballads in the original (with the help of an Icelander); (7) Swedish ballads in Danish translation, that is, those of which versions are not found in Danish; (8) Popular mythology of the Danish people, in comparison with the mythology of the other Scandinavian peoples and of the Eddas; (9) Swedish and Norwegian popular legends; (10) Folk-legends and folk-beliefs of the more remote "Northern" peoples, the English, the Scottish, the North German; (11) a book of tales founded on Scandinavian popular legends; (12) German and Dutch ballads in Danish translation; (13) the poems of Ossian in metrical translation; (14) a dissertation on the nature and characteristics of the Northern ballads, their mutual relations, and their connection with the ballads of other nations.

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[1] Danish Folklore Collection (*DFS*), Copenhagen: MSS *DFS 69 B, C, D*; *168*.

We may smile at this young man's superb indifference to the truism that art is long and time is fleeting. Yet Grundtvig carried out some of the plans here set down. Some of them he abandoned altogether. To others he gave new life and a changed form. As the budget stands it demonstrates that Grundtvig before reaching his majority had, not a vague complex of ambitions, but a comprehensive grasp of an ordered scheme in which part and part are linked together. Rightly interpreted, the budget [1] may be considered as the nucleus of the elaborate structure and the broadly conceived comparative methods of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser.*

One of the items in the budget is a collection of English and Scottish ballads in Danish translation. This work Grundtvig published in the years 1842–46, in four separate parts, with title *Engelske og skotske Folkeviser.* Two of the parts were finished before the sojourn in Britain, and two parts after his return. The texts give clear testimony of the intervention of his tour abroad. In the Preface to Part I (1842) he lists as his English and Scottish sources Pinkerton's *Select Scottish Ballads* (1783), Percy's *Reliques* (6th ed. 1823), Scott's *Minstrelsy* (5th ed., 1812), Jamieson's *Popular Ballads and Songs* (1806), and Ritson's *Robin Hood* (2d ed., 1832). Another source appears in the notes to one of the individual texts, a book of *Songs and Carols* (1836).[2] For Part II (1843) no additional works appear to have been available. With Part III (1845) the fruits of his journey become visible, as also with Part IV (1846). A Postscript to Part IV records the collections he learned to know in England and Scotland: Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scotish Songs* (1776), Ritson's *Ancient Songs* (1792), Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, Finlay's *Scottish Historical and Romantic Ballads* (1808), N. Y.,

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[1] The budget has been preserved, in the manuscript original, in the Danish Folklore Collection: *DFS 168.*

[2] Grundtvig notes the full title as follows: *Songs and Carols, printed* (*in facsimile*) *from a manuscript in the British Museum, London, 1836.*

Pieces of Ancient Poetry (Bristol, 1814), Gilbert's *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* (2d ed., 1823), Sharpe's *Ballad Book* (1824), Kinloch's *Ancient Scottish Ballads* (1827), Motherwell's *Minstrelsy* (1827), and Buchan's *Ancient Ballads and Songs* (1828). Occasional references prove his acquaintance with Herder, Grimm, and Uhland, and with the standard editors of the Scandinavian countries. Now and then he prints, in the original or in translation, some German, Swedish, or Finnish parallel to his English or Scottish pieces. For thirteen of the fifty numbers in the entire collection Grundtvig explains that he has drawn mainly upon the critical comments of the original editors; for the rest, he has supplied the annotations himself. In an Appendix he adds some further translations and notes, on the basis of his new discoveries in Britain, as supplements to the first two parts.

The collection, perhaps by reason of the extension of the publication over a period of four years and by reason of the change of views and resources incident to the visit in Britain, manifests no clear scheme of arrangement; yet the selection is fairly representative. More important, it is quite clear that even at this early date the translator knows what a ballad is. All of the fifty numbers are popular ballads, as Grundtvig himself understood the term in later life.

The editor has, moreover, a pretty firm grasp upon the larger questions of theory. Although the Postscript shows a greater maturity and wider knowledge than does the Preface, there is no marked contradiction between the two. It should be noticed first of all that he undertakes the work from a conviction that the British ballads are closely related to the Scandinavian. Perhaps the Preface is more inclined to explain the relationship through fixing the real home of the ballad in Denmark and its British incidence in those parts of the island that are the most Scandinavian in population; yet the English and Scottish ballads, he adds, are hardly older than the thirteenth century. In the Postscript he defines the period of the ballads, on both sides of the North Sea, as coinciding with the Northern reign of Catholic Christianity; and here, with something akin to the vagueness of the Grimms, he declines to assign a geographical focus whence the ballads may be thought to have radiated, but speaks rather of their being the product of the folk spirit, the time spirit,[1] in a wider area of Scandinavian, Frisian,[2] and Germanic peoples. Though it is difficult to characterize sharply according to nationalities, he finds that the Scottish ballads have a markedly dramatic and tragic note.

In the Postscript Grundtvig deals rather ungently with the British editors for their commonly high-handed treatment of the texts and for their lack of system and critical perspective. He exculpates almost wholly both Ritson and Motherwell; from Motherwell indeed he quotes long passages concerned mainly with conscientious ideals of editing. No doubt Grundtvig owed to Motherwell much of the severe exactitude that marked his subsequent work as an editor. It is all the more surprising to find, therefore, that Grundtvig himself, even in the last two parts of his collection of translations, confesses in various instances to having made combinations of several versions of an original ballad in the course of translation, for the most part in cases where the versions of the originals were not greatly at variance.

In the meantime, while this work was going through the press, Grundtvig was prosecuting with much energy his studies in the Danish ballads and his intention of preparing an edition of them. In 1843 he issued, together with his former tutor, C. S. Ley,[3] an appeal to the public to assist the project, especially by rescuing any remnants of oral traditions that still survived on the lips of the people. He had himself been making a careful survey of the manuscript resources of ballads throughout the country and besides had received from J. M. Thiele [1] materials collected at an earlier period. Presently he discovered an opportunity, as he thought, to publish a small selection for the general reader. The Society for the Right Use of Freedom of the Press, after the failure of the negotiations with Oehlenschläger, had given the assignment to another person. On his vacating the post of editor, Grundtvig offered to undertake the popular edition as a sort of advertisement of the comprehensive edition which remained his real purpose. The negotiations with the society stranded, and Grundtvig was left free to follow his more important aims.

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[1] "Folkeaanden og tidsaanden" are his words, p. 333. He allows, however, that the fundamental content of many of the North-European ballads must have had prehistoric origins in a period when there was a practical unity of language and culture among the constituent races; and that other similarities are due to borrowing in historic times.

[2] By Frisian he means Low German, including English.

[3] Ley soon ceased to be associated with Grundtvig in the ballad work.

At the close of the year 1843, he inserted in the columns of *Dansk Folkeblad* an article setting forth the need of a new edition of the Danish ballads; it amounts to a belated review of the faults of the earlier collection of Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, and a survey of materials which they either did not know about or which they neglected to take into consideration. In the first place, the previous editors omitted texts from the older printed sources that should by all rights have been included. In the second place, they were in the wrong in overlooking valuable versions from the manuscripts and in making arbitrary use of such pieces as they did draw from manuscripts. Besides, of the thirty manuscripts now known to exist, the three editors were acquainted only with twenty-one; as a consequence, a census reveals the existence of about two hundred ballads that have not been printed at all. In the third place, although the previous editors received a number of pieces taken down from oral recitation, they made little use of them; and much still remains to be gathered from the memory of the people. After this indictment of his predecessors, Grundtvig proceeds to lay down his program for a complete edition that should contain all true ballads in all the versions obtainable, that should be supplied with proper historical and other annotations, and that should exhibit the texts in a generally chronological order that would link the popular ballads, on one side, with the ancient literature of the country and, on the other, with the newer poetry. To such an edition the writer invites contributions from all sources.[1]

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[1] Thiele, the deserving editor of a collection of Danish legends, had for some time been making preparations to publish a ballad book. Thiele's MSS, containing a list of ballads omitted from the collection of Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, to the number of 390 titles, copies of ballads, and notations upon various ballad MSS, are on file in the Royal Library: *DFS 27–28.*

Grundtvig was not alone in criticizing the hitherto standard edition, nor in contemplating a new edition. F. Fabricius had been preparing to enter the field as an editor. P. G. Thorsen about this time undertook the care of a critical edition to be published by the Society for the Promotion of Danish Letters, a work which he eventually surrendered to Grundtvig. N. M. Petersen appears anew as a critic with an extensive discussion on "The Principles of Ballad Editing."[2] Petersen was a man of repute, fully entitled to be heard on the subject; and for the very reason that his views differed materially from those of Grundtvig, the elaborate expression of them just on the eve of Grundtvig's entering the lists lends a peculiar emphasis to Petersen's opinions. He announces in the opening pages of his dissertation that his remarks must of necessity take on the character of an arraignment, however guarded, of the methods of Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek; the gist of his objections comes to the charge that they had no uniform vision, no considered scheme, that they erred in trying to present an edition at once aesthetic and critical, without attending properly to either aim, indeed without being fully conscious of an aim. Petersen himself recognizes various possible modes of editing; the one he has in mind as especially desirable is one that is expressly aesthetic and critical. The ballads to him are valuable as history, as linguistic monuments, as poetry. Most important to him is their poetic merit. The proper procedure, then, is to restore the texts as nearly as possible to their original form. The original form implies to him an original poet, an individual composer who first started the ballad on its course. He realizes the difficulty of tracing a large number of poems separately to different authors and different times, and therefore takes refuge in a sort of No Man's Land. The ballad editor, he concludes, must be a man of gifts both poetical and grammatical, who shall be able to find a medieval norm according to which the ballads may be restored to an approximately pristine harmony of linguistic apparel and poetic embodiment. It should be recognized at once that Petersen's procedure was later admitted by Grundtvig to be one of the allowable methods of editing and that various Danish scholars in recent times have made interesting experiments much after the fashion proposed. But it was not the method Grundtvig chose as the most advisable under the prevailing circumstances. The two schools soon came to be at odds, and hence the Battle of the Ballads, which presently was to rage with no small fury.

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[1] *Dansk Folkeblad,* Nos. 49–52, December 29, 1843, and January 5, 1844.

[2] N. M. Petersen, "Om Behandlingen af Kæmpeviserne," in *Samlede Afhandlinger,* III, 1–90; originally printed in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed,* 1842–43.

While Grundtvig was occupied with the later instalments of his book of translations, he had been actively consolidating his resources for the larger task of editing the ballads of his own country, by extending his knowledge of available materials in print and in manuscript and by making useful personal connections at home and abroad. Opportunity was soon to knock at his door and to find him waiting with his hand on the latch. During 1845 and 1846, moreover, he was engaged in preparing for and in passing important scholastic examinations.

On May 29, 1846, Grundtvig received a note from the chairman of the Society for the Promotion of Danish Letters, Professor Abrahams, inviting him to a conference on the proposed edition. As a result of subsequent negotiations, Grundtvig was invited, on the retirement of P. G. Thorsen, to join his interests with those of the society. In a communication dated October 29, 1846, Grundtvig accepted the appointment from the society and developed his views in some detail as to the procedure he meant to follow. A committee of the society having recommended the tentative proposal, Professor Abrahams notified Grundtvig, under date of November 2, 1846, that the society would be glad to receive his promised plan and a specimen of his intended treatment of the texts. On February 3, 1847, Grundtvig accordingly transmitted to the society copies of his *Plan*[1] and of his *Specimen*.[2] The *Plan* was immediately printed and laid before the full session of the society at its meeting of March 3, 1847; the *Specimen*, somewhat changed, was published a half year later. In December of the same year there was published from Grundtvig's hand a longer essay, entitled *Supplementary Comments*.[3] These three documents form the bones of contention about which the Battle of the Ballads was fought. Regardless of the minuter chronology of the mass of polemical articles and pamphlets of the year 1847, we shall consider Grundtvig's *Plan*, his *Specimen*, and his *Supplementary Comments* under one head at the first, and then give some account of the arguments of the opposition, of Grundtvig's rebuttal and final victory. It was some years before the reverberations of the battle ceased to echo through the land.[4]

The *Specimen*, as printed and laid before the public for the purpose of inviting responsible criticism, is composed of three ballads, *Elveskud*, *Havmandens Svig*, and *Harpens Kraft*, the first in two versions, the second in three, and the third in five; the number of the sources noted is almost as great as the number of versions; and six of the sources are manuscripts. Immediately following the titles of the separate ballads, the editor gives information as to the extant versions in Danish and in the other Scandinavian tongues and as to related ballads in other countries. Under each of the versions comes the statement of the source of that version. In the form of footnotes appear variant readings and smaller critical comments.

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[1] *Plan.* [2] *Prøve.* [3] *Tillægsbemærkninger.*

[4] On the Battle of the Ballads, see Carl S. Petersen's most useful summary and documentation, in the periodical *Danske Studier* (1905), second part, pp. 65 ff. Petersen prints upwards of twenty of the letters, to and from Grundtvig, having to do with the controversy.

The *Plan* consists of four or five pages of explanation of the methods that are to govern the proposed edition. In general, the scheme involves the securing of all that has been preserved of the medieval popular poetry and of presenting it in its totality and without alterations. The available primal sources are, in the first place, the first three printed collections, Vedel's of 1591, *Tragica* of 1657, and Syv's second hundred of 1695. The unprinted sources embrace something more than thirty manuscript collections, dating from the period between 1550 and 1720. Further, there are casual prints from various periods and more recent records taken down from oral recitation. The general arrangement of the collection will be roughly chronological and in that order will comprise the three principal classes: the mythical and heroic ballads, the somewhat later supernatural ballads, and the romantic ballads together with the historical. The collection is to include all true popular ballads, all versions of each ballad, and at least a notation of all important variant readings. They are to be printed as they appear in the originals, the orthography of the source being retained for texts antedating the year 1700, and a normalized orthography being adopted for texts belonging to a later time. The critical apparatus for the entire collection would include a description of the source books and particularly of the manuscripts, a special glossary, indexes of refrains, of names, of subjects, and of first lines, and finally a dissertation on the nature and the history of the ballads.

The *Supplementary Comments*, dated December, 1847, consist in large part of an elaboration by way of apologia for the *Plan*. Since, however, the elaboration is meant to justify the intended mode of editing by reference to the character of what was to be edited, these comments embody a systematic presentation of Grundtvig's ballad creed. These views may be summarized as follows: In the life of every people there is a mythopoetic age, at the definite end of which the myth-making account is closed; every people has a "folk-poetic" age, at the end of which the production of folk-poetry ceases, to be succeeded in turn by the poetry of art. The Danish ballads belong to a limited, "folk-poetic" period, during which — and here he quotes Geijer — "the whole people sang with one accord." Therefore, continues Grundtvig, folk-poetry is the product of the individuality of a whole people, not of the individuality of an isolated poet. In this poetry, epic and lyric and dramatic are joined in one. The medieval poetry of the North is a separate and distinct *kind*, found in the three Scandinavian kingdoms, in Iceland, in the Faroes, in England and Scotland, in Holland and Germany. Of these countries, Germany has the fewest survivals, and Denmark has the most. Among these nations, the various national ballad groups are more or less related in proportion as the people and the languages are more or less related. No one of the groups can be properly studied unless each and all of the other groups are fully laid before the eyes of the scholar. Since that is so, the Danish ballads, as well as the rest, should be disclosed in their entirety. And if, as before maintained, the "people as such is the one and only legitimate author of our ancient folk-poetry, it must follow that every single version from the mouths of the people, every text derived from popular tradition, is of equal authenticity with every other text so derived." It is at this point that Grundtvig's theory joins hands with his purposed practice: here is the rationale of his respect for the integrity of the various texts. Historical, linguistic, and aesthetic considerations, he proceeds, alike demand the publication of all the true ballads, in all of the genuine versions obtainable. Arvidsson so believed; Motherwell so believed and declared. A right edition will present "all that there is" and "all as it is." Even the preservation of the ancient orthography is a work of piety for the linguistic monuments of the land. In order to prove beyond cavil that his edition would not amount simply to a multiplication of texts already known, Grundtvig finally lists and describes thirty-eight manuscript sources, many of which had never been used and none of which had been exhausted. Statistically, the Swedes have printed two hundred ballads in three hundred and fifty redactions; the British have printed two hundred and seventy-five ballads in four hundred and seventy-five redactions; the Danish collections of all sorts contain a store of four hundred and fifty ballads in at least thirteen hundred and fifty redactions, of which two hundred ballads have not been printed at all and eleven hundred redactions of the whole store of ballads still have not seen the light. In fine, it is not a question whether other methods of editing are justifiable; it is a question whether the time has not come to preserve the wealth of Danish balladry from the peradventure of loss and present it in complete array to the Danish people, its maker and keeper.

Grundtvig may have been mistaken in some of the romantic views that formed the theoretical basis for his scheme; by good fortune and good sense he developed principles of editing that in the long run have proved their capacity to survive the vicissitudes of theoretical opinion.

The very fact that the society undertook the printing of the *Specimen*, the *Plan*, and the *Supplementary Comments* was in itself an evidence that influential persons shared Grundtvig's ideas. The opposition, meanwhile, was not long in lifting its head; and it may be said at the outset that those who stood against him did so, not principally because they disagreed with his theories as to the origin and nature of the ballads, but because they could not countenance his methods. It is not necessary to trace in detail the course of the offensive and defensive newspaper articles and pamphlets provoked in turn by the three documents mentioned above.[1] The arguments against Grundtvig's proposals were in the main based on two considerations: the critical and literary propriety of editing ballads in this manner, and the expediency of committing the society to an enterprise so voluminous and expensive. In the twelvemonth and more that active hostilities continued, many of the most important literary men of the country were involved on one side or the other. Grundtvig's principal adversary was Christian Molbech, a man of no small learning and reputation. As early as 1823 Molbech had published a series of lectures on the Danish ballads expressing, among other sound and conservative opinions, the belief that ballad authorship in the first place rested with an individual, although in the passage of tradition the single author was lost in the community of the successive generations. Difference of view, as compared with Grundtvig's theory of folk authorship, had very little to do with Molbech's somewhat heathenish rage in 1847.

In his first philippic, dated October, 1847, he declares Grundtvig's intention of publishing a mass of undigested materials to be needless and senseless; the printing of the barbaric originals in their unaltered shape would produce a work "without criticism and beneath criticism." A much better system would be that which Uhland is now following, of choosing the best text and restoring it with a careful hand, as indeed has been the accepted practice in England, Germany, Sweden, and elsewhere. Grundtvig's method exhibits not true piety but literal idolatry.[2] In another, longer pamphlet, Molbech lays a foundation by a detailed survey of the more important manuscript collections, on the basis of which he insists that a right edition will not, as Professor N. M. Petersen desires, restore the ballads to a medieval ideal of content and language, nor, as Grundtvig wishes, hurl the texts with all their imperfections at the heads of the public, but will present a choice of the best texts critically cleansed as to form and modernized sufficiently in language to be appreciated not only by philologists and historians but by the general reader.[1] Between this pamphlet of Molbech's and his next contribution to the discussion falls in chronological sequence Grundtvig's *Supplementary Comments*, an account of which has been given above. Molbech then addresses himself especially to these *Comments*. The intending editor, he maintains, offends against the comity of nations by insisting on the superlative grandeur of the ballad-hoard of Denmark, as compared with the stores that other countries have to show. Many of the unprinted ballads of Denmark, for aesthetic and ethical reasons, do not deserve perpetuation. As to versions, what is bad must be omitted and what is superfluous to a full appreciation of the ballad ought to be omitted. Motherwell's practice for the Scottish ballads is by no means mandatory for the Danish. A judicious restriction of Grundtvig's grandiose ambitions will save the society from potential ruin. One text, the oldest and best, properly treated will amply suffice.[2] The last words refer to an example of proper editing presented by Molbech in a recently printed selection of fourteen ballads, the first instalment of what he promised to offer as a selection of one hundred texts, edited according to his own renovating and modernizing principles.[3] This specimen of his own Molbech had hastily thrown together, in part by means of a questionable employment of a manuscript loaned to him by Grundtvig for another purpose. In so doing he contributed materially to his own defeat.

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[1] A bibliography of the most important controversial writings will be found in C. S. Petersen's *Fra Folkevisestriden*, pp. 75–77, notes.

[2] C. Molbech, *En Betænkning over den bebudede nye Udgave af en Material-Samling til Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, 1847.

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[1] C. Molbech, *Om de gamle danske Folkevisers Beskaffenhed og Forhold, deres Skikkelse i Haandskrifter og trykte Udgaver, og om Grundsætningerne for deres Udgivelse*, Copenhagen, 1848 (originally printed in *Historisk-biographiske Samlinger*, I Hefte, December 27, 1847).

[2] Molbech, *Kritiske Bemærkninger og Resultater angaaende den Grundtvigske Udgave, Material-Samling, og Kilde-Samling af gamle danske Folkeviser*, Copenhagen, February 14, 1848. Reprinted in *Historisk-biographiske Samlinger*, II Hefte, 1849.

[3] Molbech, *Et Hundrede udvalgte danske Folkeviser, hidtil utrykte*. I Hefte, Copenhagen (December 21) 1847. The months and days for these three items are given by Grundtvig in his *Etatsraad Molbech og Kæmpeviserne*, published in March, 1848.

The pace of the controversy proved too fast for the veteran Molbech. His headlong zeal for the discomfiture of Grundtvig had plunged him into grotesque critical somersaults. In his pamphlet *Om de gamle danske Folkevisers Beskaffenhed og Forhold* (*On the Nature and Status of the Ancient Danish Ballads*) he had fallen foul of N. M. Petersen's archaizing tendencies. Petersen promptly retorted in moderate terms in a short essay "Om Udgivelsen af Kæmpeviserne" ("On Editing the Ballads"), defending his views and declaring Molbech's edition of fourteen ballads, because of his distortion of both the contents and the language, to be just the sort of edition with which no one can be satisfied. Incidentally Petersen explains that although he differed from Grundtvig, he had nevertheless in the counsels of the society given Grundtvig's *Specimen* his approval.

Grundtvig did Molbech the honor of singling him out as his principal enemy, and in a pamphlet of some eighty pages, *Etatsraad Molbech og Kæmpeviserne* (*Counsellor Molbech and the Ballads*), he gave an effectual quietus to the ageing gladiator. In the Preface he contends that he is led to severe measures of reprisal not only by regard for his own literary fortunes but by a higher regard for the credit and the welfare of his native land. In the body of the work he makes use of all of the established rules of fence recited by Touchstone, even the retort courteous. He exposes Molbech's attempt to anticipate him by employing, for his edition of fourteen ballads, manuscripts which by the proper authorities had been placed at Grundtvig's disposal for his own edition. He demonstrates that Molbech's acquaintance with the manuscripts and printed texts is not such as to inspire confidence. He gives detailed evidence to prove Molbech's editorial handling of his fourteen ballads to be arbitrary and capricious in the extreme. Molbech had set up his own procedure as the proper mode of editing. Grundtvig disclaims any intention of holding his own method to be the only one; there are several good methods, but Molbech's is not of the number. In spite of legitimate differences of view among the public as to the merits of the question at issue, no one could read Grundtvig's rebuttal without coming to the conclusion that he possessed a commanding knowledge of the whole subject and that if anyone could conceivably supplant him as editor it was not the now thoroughly discredited Molbech.

Meanwhile Grundtvig had not been without his partisans. Several men had come to his aid in the public press during the year that the campaign lasted. One of the most striking of the special pleas in his favor came from his own father, the venerable churchman and poet, N. F. S. Grundtvig. His little pamphlet, *Om Kæmpevise-Bogen* (*On the Ballad Book*) (1847), characteristically stresses the patriotic note, as against the foreign influence, the foreign indifference to what is truly Danish, represented by the hostility of the two men, Levin and Liebenberg, for the confounding of whom the book is written. To the elder Grundtvig, the ballads, which "have originated as of their own accord, on the lips of the Danish people," are the only literary monuments that have survived from several centuries of the life of the nation; therefore they should be given back uncontaminated to the Danish people. No foreign works, whether ancient or modern, are of importance comparable with that of the ballads to a patriotic Dane. No one has shown greater fitness to edit them than Svend. In the course of his remarks N. F. S. Grundtvig contended that the comprehensive edition would provide the means for such critical editions as might be desired. In this connection he called attention to a popular edition of his own, prepared for the use of schools; this was published about the same time as his pamphlet, under the title of *Danske Kæmpeviser til Skole-Brug* (1847).

Other reputable scholars and literary men appeared publicly in behalf of Svend Grundtvig. In addition, he received during the progress of the campaign a number of private letters from influential persons urging him not to yield. Among these is one from the poet and novelist Ingemann, dated September 20, 1847, containing the following expressions: "I am looking forward with pleasure to the completion of this important work, and according to the announced intention of its purpose — not to be a popular book, but a complete, scientifically arranged collection of the whole of the material, both printed and unprinted, of our medieval poetry — I find that the *Specimen* answers perfectly to what might be desired and expected." C. Paludan-Müller, the historian[1] writes under date of October 9, 1847, in part as follows: "I am in complete accord with the governing idea in your *Plan*. . . . Consequently I must also approve the editorial method." George Stephens, then engaged with Hyltén-Cavallius in preparing for the publication of their historical ballads of Sweden, writes from Stockholm, January 9, 1848, saying that he has secured for Grundtvig at auction a valuable manuscript of Danish ballads, and expressing himself on the points at issue in vigorous terms: "Follow out your plan unchanged. If you don't, you will deserve to be hanged. Molbech's pamphlet I have read, and almost every view and statement in it is wrong." Immediately afterward Stephens adds, mistakenly, "As for England, you know that we, unfortunately, have no MSS to publish. We would give our teeth for them if we had. I mean MSS of Ballads. Otherwise we always publish all our old MSS with the utmost fidelity." P. A. Munch, the Norwegian historian, writes January 20, 1848, giving Grundtvig's method his approval and finding it justifiable on the same grounds as had governed Munch himself and Keyser in their recent publication of the ancient laws of Norway. The opinions of these men must have meant much more to the young editor than the vociferation of his opponents.[2]

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[1] Not, as erroneously stated in my *Ballad Criticism*, p. 8, the author of *Adam Homo*. The author of *Adam Homo* was F. Paludan-Müller, a brother of the historian.

[2] Other extracts from these letters will be found in my *Ballad Criticism*, pp. 8–9.

Not long after Grundtvig had silenced Molbech, the war broke out over Schleswig-Holstein. In the course of the hostilities of the next two or three years Grundtvig was in the army and found only little leisure to devote to his ballads. In the spring of 1850, the society determined to publish the ballads under his editorship and according to his principles, with minor deviations. The work began to appear, under royal patronage, in 1853; it continued to occupy the larger part of his time during the remaining years of his life.

Before taking up the story of the ballad edition in greater detail, it may be well to sketch Grundtvig's work in related literary fields in order to reserve undivided attention later for the crowning enterprise, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser.* These minor activities, as they must be termed relatively, in a way had the character of avocations from the exacting labors of editing; yet all of them were part and parcel of the great design of contributing to the knowledge of the language and letters of his native land.

Of the works more immediately connected with his principal edition of the ballads, those occupied with the popular poetry of related Scandinavian countries deserve particular note. In the years 1854–85, with Jón Sigurðsson, he edited the ballads of Iceland, under the title of *Íslenzk Fornkvæði.* He also began, with the assistance of J. Bloch, the preparation of a huge manuscript corpus of all the extant ballads of the Faroe Islands and also the collection of materials for a dictionary of the language of the Faroes. Bloch, as time went on, took over the active work in both of these enterprises, with the result that the Royal Library now possesses in manuscript the full array of Faroe ballads, the *Corpus*

With other correspondence bearing on the subject they are published in the original languages in C. S. Petersen's *Fra Folkevisestriden.* The original letters are preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection: *DFS 61.* Documents relating to Grundtvig's negotiations with the Society: *DFS 62.* A collection of newspaper clippings, etc., belonging to the Battle of the Ballads: *DFS 63.*

Carminum Færoensium,[1] and a serviceable dictionary of the language of the islands. In 1886, a selection from the ballads was published in Thorshavn, in the Faroes.[2]

From the very time that he became conscious of his calling as a ballad editor, Grundtvig began making collections not only of ballads but of all types of folklore to be found in Denmark. In this work he enlisted, year by year, collaborators soon to be numbered in the hundreds, who in answer to his public appeals and in more general response to his example, sent to him transcripts, from oral tradition and other sources, of folk-tales, proverbs, riddles, superstitions — in short, traditions of all sorts — which he gathered and classified for future use. In the years 1854, 1857, and 1861, he published smaller volumes of these miscellanies, under the designation of *Gamle danske Minder*; while these books were not very hospitably received by the reviewers, they had a wholesome influence in stimulating a sense of folklore values and inspiring collectors in various quarters. In 1863, Grundtvig was appointed lecturer at the University of Copenhagen, in which capacity he laid new domains of learning under his sway, contributed to the scholarly discussion of ancient Northern literature, and produced a serviceable edition of the *Poetic Edda*.

It will be remembered that during the heat of controversy over the proper editing of the ballads, Grundtvig had fully recognized the need of providing popular editions for the use of the general reader. In the midst of his other tasks he was not unmindful of this implied promise. In 1867 he published twenty-five ballads critically edited for the special needs of a broader public; and in 1882 he sent forth a larger collection of ballads, selected and edited with particular reference to general requirements. In the years 1876–78 he carried on the good work in a collection of Danish folk-tales. Meanwhile his hoard of collectanea kept growing, and now forms a large and valuable part of the impressive folklore treasures of the Royal Library.

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[1] The MS collection of the Faroe Ballads, with an Introduction by J. Bloch, bears the library number *DFS 133*; preliminary documents relating to it, *DFS 169B*. For articles on the collection and on the Faroe glossary, by Grundtvig and by Olrik, see the notes to Grundtvig's letter to Child, dated January 23, 1883.

[2] *Corpus Carminum Færoensium*, 2 vols. Thorshavn, 1886.

Danmarks gamle Folkeviser, the main collection of the ballads, began to appear in parts of volumes in 1852. The first whole volume bears the date 1853; the second volume was ready in 1856; the third, in 1862; the fourth, in 1883. In that year Grundtvig died suddenly, his great task still far from completion. Parts of the fifth volume, too, had been published, out of turn, before the editor's death. The work of Grundtvig's successors will be discussed later.

The first volume contains the heroic ballads, the true *kæmpeviser*. The second volume contains the *trylleviser*, ballads of magic and marvel. In the third are to be found the historical ballads. In the fourth and the succeeding volumes are gathered the *ridderviser*, the ballads of chivalry and romance. This is the classification Grundtvig had in mind when he laid his plans before the society. The first two of these divisions he grouped, in accordance with a fundamental view of the character and progress of popular poetry, in a larger class which he named the mythical; and the last two divisions he grouped in like manner as historical.[1] This broader arrangement corresponded to his conviction that there were two great periods in the intellectual and poetic life of the people, of which the myth-making period came first, and the "folk-poetic" came afterwards. The designations *mythical* and *historical*, as so used, he intended to be taken in a very inclusive sense. It is easy enough to see how the heroic and strictly mythical ballads, on the one hand, and the ballads of magic and marvel and Christian legend on the other hand, might be regarded under one head, although the great fact of Christianity sunders the various elements. It may not be so readily conceived why he should lump together poems dealing with historical persons and events and poems that have every appearance of being purely fictitious and romantic. It must be remembered for one thing that he was not disposed to attach easy credulity to the historicity even of the otherwise documented ballads celebrating real happenings; and for another thing, he was not disposed to make literal truth out of ballads wanting altogether in such documentation. The fact of the matter is, that to him history is made up not merely of the deeds and fates of personages whose names and lives have come to occupy the records of sober historians, but also of the thoughts, the emotions, the imaginings of the people as a whole. In this sense, a romantic ballad may rest on a substratum of reality; even if it does not, it is in itself a historical document bearing witness to the character, the ideals, the poetic nature of the people that produced it and preserved it. Briefly, Grundtvig's classifications bore a close relation to his entire theory of popular poetry.

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[1] See the Preface to *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (*DgF*), vol. II.

In the light of his ballad philosophy we see, too, the real meaning of the impressive array of versions as they appear before our eyes on the printed page. The differences between the versions are, it is true, actual differences of story; but they are more than that; they represent the fluctuating yet surprisingly constant operations of the minds and imaginations of the people that made and re-made these ballads. The always learned and useful, and often brilliant, introductions in which the editor traced the relationships of the versions to each other and followed the thread of the story into the remotest ages and lands, must be regarded in a similar way. He is, to be sure, trying to show the multitude of forms that may be assumed by the same poetical narrative in one country and the related forms it may take in another country; he is trying to pursue the backward pace of a story to its ultimate source; but more, he is attempting to demonstrate the ways and means of tradition, and especially the history of the people as it manifests itself subtly through the mutations of popular poetry.

Grundtvig's general views of the nature and the characteristics of the ballad were pretty firmly fixed before he began to bring out the volumes of the collection. If he had been able to finish the work himself, we should no doubt have had, according to his early promise, a systematic dissertation embodying his critical opinions. In the absence of such an essay we are thrown back upon the formal and informal discussions in his *Plan* and *Supplementary Comments* of 1847, his Introduction to Rosa Warrens's *Dänische Volkslieder der Vorzeit*[1] of 1858, his Preface to a popular edition of ballads and folksongs[2] of 1867, and finally the introductions to volumes and the introductions to separate numbers in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*. Since many of his important tenets have already been broached in the course of this narrative, nothing more than a generalization or two will be added here.

To Grundtvig the ballads never ceased to have the character of a distinct kind of literature, which he called *popular* poetry. In his earlier years he held rather vaguely romantic concepts of the terms *popular* and *people*; these ideas became more definite as time wore on. In 1857, writing the Introduction for the Warrens volume, he still sees the people in shadowy outlines as a singing community; in 1867, writing for the people of that day about the people of the past, he distinguishes more clearly. Here he holds fast, it is true, to a relatively homogeneous community in the midst of which the ballads take their rise; yet he refuses, on the one hand, to identify the "people" with the lower classes, and, on the other hand, he draws a clear distinction between the nobility and the commons. Here it is expressly the higher orders who take the lead in creating the ballads and not the so-called common people; but at that distant time class distinctions were not so marked but that when the lesser nobility brought the ballads into vogue the rest of the people sang with one voice, and so the ballads became the possession of the whole people.[3] With the coming of the Renaissance, the ballads lost favor with the gentry, sank lower in the social scale, and so have been carried on traditionally on the lips of simpler folk, in some localities even down to the present day. Individual authorship, though not learned authorship, may be taken to represent Grundtvig's later views. Among more recent Scandinavian authorities, individual authorship is assumed; some scholars, like Schück[1] and Von der Recke,[2] even object to the term *popular ballad* (*folkevise*) as positing too definite an origin for the ballads among the "people."

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[1] In this volume his mature opinions may be found set forth in a clear and comprehensive form.

[2] *Danske Kæmpeviser og Folkesange fra Middelalderen.*

[3] *Danske Kæmpeviser og Folkesange*, Preface, pp. iv–v. For the application of the general theory of authorship to a special, important case, see his introduction to the ballad of *Marsk Stig*, *DgF*, III, 339 ff.

As to the age of the Danish ballads, Grundtvig finds a firm stay for his enquiries in the historical pieces, which he assigns to dates not far distant from the events themselves. Since individual historical ballads have a factual footing in the twelfth century and since the heroic and mythical ballads bear a still older aspect, he ventures to place the earliest Danish ballads in the eleventh century.[3] In the Introduction to the first volume of the collection he finds a ballad source for some of the Eddic poems,[4] though he is hardly thinking in this case of ballads having the same form as those he was publishing. In other cases he makes a direct link between Eddic poems and succeeding ballads. Of the connection in themes between the older Norse literature and the ballads he has himself given notable proofs, not to be controverted. As to any formal relationship between the Eddic poems and the ballads, recent Scandinavian critics have been more than dubious; Professor Steenstrup, for one, will have none of it.[5] The tendency of Grundtvig's critical successors has rather been to restrict the true medieval ballad to narrower temporal and canonical bounds. Yet Olrik places the number of Danish medieval ballads at five hundred.[1]

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[1] H. Schück, *Illustrerad svensk Litteraturhistoria* (3d ed., 1926 ff.), I, 295 ff.

[2] Ernst von der Recke, *Nogle Folkevise-Redactioner*, p. 1, n.: (. . . "*det baade for Lidt og for Meget sigende 'Folkevise,' som demokratisk Forblindelse har protegeret*").

[3] See the Preface to *DgF*, III, vii ff. In his Postcript to Kristensen's *Jydske Folkeviser og Toner*, 1871, Grundtvig places the ballads of Denmark between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries.

[4] *DgF*, I, xi.

[5] J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, *The Medieval Popular Ballad*, translated by E. G. Cox; the author's views on this matter are summarized in his "Retrospect," pp. 260–261.

Although Grundtvig never ceased to exalt the ballads of his own country, he was on his guard against making extravagant claims. In his earlier thinking, the ballads were a common Gothic (Germanic) development, springing up under like conditions. Some of them came from Germany into Denmark, others from Norway or Sweden; contrariwise, Danish ballads have emigrated into the other Germanic countries. As his researches spread abroad, in the course of time he saw new evidences of the wider international relationships of the Danish ballads with non-Germanic traditions. Yet it always remained a particular source of gratification to him to discover through his popular poetry fresh bonds of association between Danish literature and the Scandinavian literature of antiquity and between the existing funds of ballads in all of the Scandinavian countries. He regarded the Danish ballads as an imperishable evidence of the continuity of Danish life and letters. To him traditional poetry was more than a means of scholarly research. It was a national inheritance, the preservation of which was a patriotic duty, and the right appreciation of which by the people would constitute a lasting incentive to love of home and country.[2] And while it is true that scholars of the present find the Danish ballads less indigenous in their origins than Grundtvig may have supposed,[3] yet lay and learned men throughout the land are pretty much at one in approving not only his longcontested editorial method but the patriotic devotion with which he carried out his task.

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[1] Axel Olrik, *Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg, Første Samling, Fjerde Udgave, Indledning*, p. 90. This volume contains a convenient exposition of Olrik's general views of the Danish ballads.

[2] See especially the entire Preface to *DgF*, vol. III.

[3] Professor Steenstrup writes, in a résumé of a paper read before the Danish Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters on February 28, 1919: "Voici le résultat auquel je suis arrivé. Notre poésie du moden âge est née sous l'influence des chansons françaises, mais elle a développé une originalité qui porte l'empreinte de notre esprit national." Henrik Schück, who finds a practical community between the Swedish and the Danish ballads, holds much the same opinion, although he is inclined to seek the origin of the heroic ballads (*kæmpeviser*) in Norway; see his *History of Swedish Literature*, as cited above. On the heroic ballads, cf. Liestøl's *Norske Trollvisor.*

The death of Grundtvig was not permitted to bring the work to a standstill. Within a few years a qualified successor had been discovered in the person of Axel Olrik. With some supervision from Professor L. Wimmer, he brought the fifth volume to a conclusion, largely on the basis of preparatory studies by Grundtvig. With that volume the Society for the Promotion of Danish Letters ended its connection with the publication, the society having disbanded in the meantime. Under new auspices and with the support of the Carlsberg Fund, Olrik continued with admirable learning and devotion to bring out from time to time during his life further numbers of the ballads of chivalry and romance, under the subheading of *Danske Ridderviser*, of which three full volumes bear witness to his unusual talents. After his death in 1917, H. Grüner Nielsen, who for some years had been assisting Olrik and carrying out similar researches of his own, took up the burden. In 1923, Mr. Nielsen announced the completion of the tally with the publication of ballad number 539; there remains now the not inconsiderable task of adding the supplementary texts and information for the earlier volumes. And so the capstone will be placed on the splendid national monument, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*. Certain collateral types of ballads, not properly included in the main collection, but which Grundtvig had originally meant to publish in some fashion, have been in part provided for through the publication of Grüner Nielsen's *Danske Viser fra Adelsvisebøger og Flyveblade* (1530–1630) and E. T. Kristensen's collection of comic ballads, *Et Hundrede gamle danske Skjæmteviser* (1903).

The name of the late Evald Tang Kristensen[1] deserves a place of particular honor in the history of the Danish ballad. Mr. Kristensen began to pick up folklore in Jutland in 1867. According to my most recent information he has within the past year been travelling over the familiar roads acting as cicerone for Mr. Percy Grainger in the search for characteristic popular airs. In the intervening period Mr. Kristensen has accomplished almost incredible things in the collecting of ballads, folk-tales, traditions of all sorts, from the Hammerum region in Jutland, particularly. His first book of Jutland ballads, *Jydske Folkeviser og Toner*, he published in 1871; in a Postscript to that volume, Grundtvig pointed out the surprising richness of the Jutland ballad tradition as there represented. This book was the first of a baker's dozen bearing the general title of *Jydske Folkeminder*, of which several volumes are specially devoted to ballads. He has published many works besides, of which may be mentioned the series of popular legends, *Danske Sagn* (1892–1901). No more industrious, no more successful collector of folklore has ever lived than this same Jutland devotee. Grundtvig noted in 1871 that in the region where Mr. Kristensen labored, even the very making of ballads after the old style was hardly extinct. Evald Tang Kristensen may well be named the voice of that ballad-making folk.

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[1] For bibliographical and other information relating to Kristensen's work, see W. A. Craigie's essay in *Folk-Lore*, IX, No. 3 (September, 1898), 194–224; K. Liestøl's remarks on Kristensen's ballad collections, in *Festskrift til Evald Tang Kristensen* (Danmarks Folkeminder, No. 17); and, in the same volume, Gunnar Knudsen's bibliography, covering Kristensen's literary output to 1917. Friends of the collector have recently formed an Evald Tang Kristensen Society, the immediate aim of which is the publication of Kristensen's rich manuscript materials.

A visitor to the Danish Folklore Collection (Dansk Folkemindesamling) in the Royal Library at Copenhagen will find there large stores of the published and unpublished materials of this one indefatigable collector. There, too, he will find the collectanea of Grundtvig and of many another well-known and unknown contributor. It was in 1904 that Axel Olrik and the veteran folklorist H. F. Feilberg took the first steps in the establishment on a definitely public basis of the Dansk Folkemindesamling. Owing to their initiative the collection, to which Feilberg and Olrik themselves made important donations, became permanently attached to the Royal Library and so became a possession of the Danish people. Into this repository were gathered on its foundation various valuable public and private collections of folklore of all descriptions, formed in the course of several centuries, including many of the famous early manuscripts.[1] In it have since been accumulating constantly increasing stores. Professor Olrik became the first curator and held the position during his lifetime. After his death, Mr. Grüner Nielsen has been in charge, assisted by Mr. Hans Ellekilde. Other indispensable books and manuscripts are to be found in the library of the University of Copenhagen and elsewhere. The society, Danske Folkeminder, has since its organization in 1908 published a useful series of special works in folklore. Among periodicals of distinct importance have been *Dania* and *Danske Studier*.

In the course of the seventy-five years since Grundtvig began his imposing task, many Scandinavian scholars have lent a hand toward the completion of his collection and the strengthening of the Danish Folklore Collection. Sophus Bugge was of particular assistance to Grundtvig. The names of others will be discovered in the annotations to the several volumes of the collection. In Denmark, although Grundtvig's editorial procedure has long been generally recognized, the necessity of supplementing his materials, of correcting his conclusions, and of interpreting the variegated mass of traditions in the light of advancing knowledge has been no less obvious. Axel Olrik applied his learning not only to the editing of the ballads but to many related fields, such as the critical analysis of Saxo Grammaticus, the study of the heroic legends of Denmark,[2] the exposition of the workings of tradition,[3] and the like. In the redaction of ballad texts for the general public, while Grundtvig tended toward a generous inclusion of differing elements from the separate versions and so produced rather lengthy texts, Olrik sought for a sort of common denominator and so his reconstructions have a striking conciseness. Among older works treating important characteristics of the Danish ballads, C. Rosenberg's *Nordboernes Aandsliv* (1878) contains observations that still have interest for the modern student. Historians like A. D. Jørgensen and K. Erslev and Johannes Steenstrup have tested the validity of the historical ballads. Professor Steenstrup particularly, in his *Vore Folkeviser fra Middelalderen*[1] (1891), has established criteria for distinguishing between medieval ballads and those of later periods and for determining true ballad style. Dr. Ernst von der Recke, whose vast concordance of parallel passages in the Scandinavian ballads is now in course of publication, has given notable examples of critical editing in his *Nogle Folkevise-Redactioner* (1906) and has dealt with ballad versification in his authoritative works on Danish prosody. Dr. Sofus Larsen, too, has treated the ballads critically and historically. Mr. C. S. Petersen, in his *History of Danish Literature*, gives a comprehensive general account of the ballad, and in other connections touches upon the various influences of folklore upon men of letters.[2] Danish ballad music has been edited by A. P. Berggreen, Thomas Laub, and H. Grüner Nielsen. As Denmark is distinguished for the employment of ballad themes in literature and in art, so Danish scholars have exerted themselves successfully in

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[1] See the account of the foundation and a description of the contents of the Collection in the *Festskrift til H. F. Feilberg*, pp. 470–488; further, Axel Olrik's brief exposition in *FF Communications*, No. 1 (1910).

[2] *The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, translated by L. M. Hollander (Scandinavian Monographs IV).

[3] *Nogle Grundsætninger for Sagnforskning*, edited by Hans Ellekilde (Danmarks Folkeminder, No. 23). The Introduction to this volume contains an account of Olrik's life and work. The same editor is publishing a work by Olrik on *Northern Mythology* (*Nordens Gudeverden*), Copenhagen, 1926 ff. For further biographical information on Olrik, see Ingeborg Olrik, "Minder fra Axel Olriks Barndomshjem

og Ungdomstid," in *Danske Studier*, Pt. 2 (1924), pp. 49–63; Kaarle Krohn, "Axel Olrik," in *FF Communications*, No. 29 (1919), pp. 1–18; and W. Ranisch's Preface to his translation of Olrik's *Ragnarök*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1922.

[1] See also his *Etudes sur les chansons populaires danoises au moyen-âge* (*Extrait du Bulletin de l'Académie Royale danoise des Sciences et des Lettres pour l'année 1891*), Copenhagen, 1891.

[2] C. S. Petersen, *P. Hansens Illustreret dansk Litteraturhistorie* (3d ed., 1916), I, 127 ff. For foreign contributions to the study of Danish balladry, see L. Pineau's *Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves*, 1898, and W. P. Ker's essays in his *Collected Essays* (1925), vol. II, and in *Danske Studier*, 1907. A historical sketch of the broader aspects of Danish folklore is that of Henrik Ussing in *Nordische Volkskundeforschung*, ed. J. Meier, 1927.

the elucidation of the most varied phases of their splendid popular inheritance.

In the Royal Library at Copenhagen the visitor will find two small rooms of striking but very diverse significance. One is devoted to the conservation of the literary remains of George Brandes; the other houses the literary memorials of a thousand nameless poets and story-tellers. About the first there is an air of polite elegance; about the other, an atmosphere of the workshop. The Danish Folklore Collection may well be described as a Wayland's Smithy, in which the lost golden horns of Denmark are being refashioned for the use and for the honor of the people.

CHAPTER VIII

FRANCIS JAMES CHILD AND OTHER AMERICANS

> Bravo, o venerando Maestro! Voi siete un esempio vivo e parlante di ciò che dovrebbe essere e fare chi si accinge alle ricerche del Folklore. Sull' opera vostra può bene scriversi il verso dantesco:
>
> Sapienza e Amore e Virtute!
>
> G. Pitrè.[1]

IT IS something of an experience to call to mind in rapid review the men who have left their names in the history of the ballads. How various in lineaments, in character, in worldly position! Curious and elegant Bishop Percy; testy and unfortunate Joseph Ritson; the lamented maker, Robert Burns; the Border chieftain, Walter Scott; his dilettante friend, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe; blundering, persistent Peter Buchan, attended by his blind Homeric minstrel; the patient and exacting Motherwell; the exiled and repatriated Jamieson; the inventive Allan Cunningham; Swinburne, smarting with indignation at the insolence of Scotchmen; Pastor Landstad, among the mountains of Norway; Grundtvig, setting a whole countryside afire with his enthusiasm; and many more, almost every man a type, who have borne with pride the rusty badge of the poetical antiquary.

Some of these men were poets of no mean order. Others among them were born with a leaning toward poetry and were possibly spared, through the diversion of their talents into the vicarious work of collecting and printing ballads, from the ill repute of the poetaster. Many of them dealt hardly with the truth, as truth is understood in churches and in countinghouses. Just what there is about literary antiquities that should lead devotees to tale-telling and leasing, must remain a mystery unless it may be disclosed as having something to do with the romantic aberrations of Rousseau. A simple explanation of why so many of the older collectors of ballads improved what they found and failed to account properly for their own creative participation, might be that they were subtly led into a mistaken idealism: admiring ballads themselves, they created in their own minds a sort of ballad archetype and so were brought under an irresistible temptation to make ballads which they saw to be imperfect conform more nearly to a visionary ideal.

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[1] These words form the conclusion of a brief review by Pitrè of Part IX of Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, in *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, XIV (October to December, 1895), 591.

If that be the case, the principal motive for collecting and editing ballads would stand revealed. Subsidiary motives must have been present in some cases, such as a thirst for antiquarian fame, an illusory hope of monetary reward, genealogical or historical passions, as in the case of Percy and of Scott, or patriotic impulses of the kind that sustained the arms of Grundtvig. In justice it must be said that disinterested zeal has been a powerful factor in the careers of the ballad men.

Of this disinterestedness, Francis James Child had an unusually large share. There is nothing to show that he had any axes to grind, unless it were the edged tool of the honest workman. He had nothing to hope for from the Earl of Northumberland. He had no expectation of enhancing the prestige of his ancestry through connecting his line with the heroes of Border story. He was not moved by the negative incentive of proving that some bishop or other either did not possess at all a famous manuscript or, if he did possess it, had made felonious use of it. He was not nerved to action by the inferior type of patriotism that plumes itself on demonstrating that Scotchmen have erred or that Englishmen have blundered. He could not even have been actuated in any measurable degree by that positive patriotism which, in Scott and in Grundtvig, made literary work a service of piety for their native heath and their forbears. Child's scholarship was devoted to the literature of a country which was his own only through the bonds of tradition and speech. In so far it was fitting that his special studies were directed toward the language and the poetical traditions of Great Britain. If there remained at the back of his mind, as there must have remained, a feeling that through his exertions he might bring some credit to his own country and some recognition to his university and to himself, so much might well be allowed even to the most unselfish of men. His governing motive, in the edition of Spenser and in the enquiries into the language of Chaucer and Gower and, finally, in the edition of the ballads, seems to have been that of doing a work that he liked in a fashion that competent judges might be expected to approve.

It would be instructive if we were able to follow in detail the development of Child's interest in popular traditions, as we follow Walter Scott from his infantile admiration of *Hardyknute* to his publication of the *Minstrelsy*. The means of such a tracing of footsteps in the case of Child are wanting to me. His biographers have told us of his varied tastes and his unusual acquirements in school and in college. On being graduated from Harvard College in 1846, he was appointed a tutor in mathematics and later in other subjects, including English; and he continued to serve Harvard College and Harvard University throughout his life. From 1849 to 1851 he carried on his studies in Europe, particularly in the universities of Göttingen and Berlin, where he devoted his attention in great part to branches of philology. There can be no doubt that his stay in Germany had a determining influence on his later career. There he found the linguistic disciplines, not least in the Germanic field, in a state of forwardness which may be defined by the mere mention of the name of Jakob Grimm. He found folklore, just becoming known in Europe under that title, in a place of honor won through decades of searching investigation, in which again the Grimm brothers had taken a signal part. He found medieval studies contesting for preëminence with the older humanities. German scholars, critics, and men of letters had for a long time been, and still were, occupied with the collection and the poetical use of their native tales, ballads, and songs. What Child already knew of English traditional lore must have taken on a new meaning in this environment.

When Child came to undertake his first edition of popular poetry, the *English and Scottish Ballads*, of 1857–59, he had undoubtedly had no small opportunity to familiarize himself with the general contents, the various systems of arrangement, and the noticeable differences in the principles and practices of editing as illustrated in a large number of collections covering a considerable lapse of years not only in Great Britain but in Germany and other foreign countries. He knew what was involved in the acrimonious charges of Ritson against Percy. He had studied the procedure of editors like Herd and Scott, Motherwell and Kinloch, Buchan and many more. He was acquainted with the chief Scandinavian collections, not however including Grundtvig's first volumes, which did not come to his attention until later. He had of course learned to know while in Germany, if not before, Wilhelm Grimm's book of translations from the Danish and the volumes of Arnim and Brentano, and of Uhland. He could not have been unaffected by the stimulating German critical debates of the past decades as to the proper modes of dealing with older literature and particularly the way to edit folk-poetry as exemplified by such a poet and scholar as Uhland. The bibliographical lists placed conspicuously in the first volume of his *English and Scottish Ballads* show that he had already at his command resources most respectable in compass. He was in a position to survey almost all of the available printed ballad texts, to come to a decision as to the inclusion or exclusion of given poems, and to arrive at a critical standpoint with reference to the mode of editing them.

Child wrote to Grundtvig, fifteen years afterward, that his first collection had been somewhat precipitated by the desire of the publishers to hasten the issuance of the voluminous series of the British Poets of which the ballads made a part.[1] To this circumstance he meant to lay some of the imperfections of the work. The spirit of the apology may be readily understood in the case of an editor who continued to advance in knowledge of his subject. To us these imperfections are less positive than they are comparative, when the first collection is examined side by side with the later, immensely superior collection.

One of the possible defects of the *English and Scottish Ballads*, of which the editor was conscious at the time,[2] has to do with the admission of poems that are hardly to be described as ballads at all but rather as shorter romances, and of poems that are indeed ballads but not of the type that are now commonly thought of as *ancient*. On this score it must be noticed that Child himself does not stress the *popular* character of his ballads here as he does in the later collection; and, further, that his own subsequent studies had a great deal to do with the more exact definition of what *popularity* really implies. Another thing that counts relatively against the merits of the earlier work is that at this period he had no such means of controlling the authenticity of individual texts as he had afterward. It will be recalled that at this time the *Percy Folio Manuscript* was still sequestered, and so remained for another twenty years; that the very existence of many of the other capital manuscripts was practically unknown; and that under the prevailing conditions Child had no access to those that were known to exist. He was therefore under the necessity in most cases of choosing among the available printed texts. In some instances he exercised this selective judgment under rather lively scruples. For *Auld Maitland* he makes room "with reluctance." [3] His suspicions of Buchan were even at this early date so much aroused that he was impelled to announce that "some resolution has been exercised, and much disgust suppressed, in retaining certain pieces from Buchan's collections";[1] doubts and qualms over the same editor were to trouble his deliberations more than once in determining upon the canon for the later definitive work. It is historically important to notice these early critical perturbations in Child's mind, since they were no doubt chiefly instrumental in leading him to undertake the laborious task of digging out those manuscripts and rare printed books that were to form the substantial foundation for his second edifice. The value he placed upon individual texts clearly underwent modification in the course of his further studies. In consideration of the limitations of textual supply and means of control, the choice of readings in the *English and Scottish Ballads* will appear little open to cavil.

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[1] See Child's letter to Grundtvig, March 26, 1872.

[2] See the Preface to the *English and Scottish Ballads* (*E. S. B.*), I, xi, n.; cf. 2d ed. (1860), I, xii.

[3] *E. S. B.*, VI, 220.

On one point, in particular, there is no hesitation, no temporizing. As a statement in the Preface runs, "The Editor, after selecting the most authentic copies, has carefully adhered to the originals as they stand in the printed collections, sometimes restoring a reading which has been changed without reason, and in all cases indicating deviations, whether his own or those of others, in the margin."[2] This cardinal principle, arrived at without knowledge of Grundtvig's fiery baptism into the same faith, is to be remarked not only for its assurance of honest dealing at this period but for its potential force in relation to the exhaustive enquiries that were to supervene. Child had surely been influenced by the repeated assertions of this principle by his predecessors among the English and Scottish editors. In the course of illuminating experience with ballad books he had been taught to regard skeptically even the more solemn asseverations of fidelity to text. In his own case, growing familiarity with earlier discrepancies between tenet and practical tendency must have formed a strong inducement to hold fast to the good tenet and to search out the means of uncovering and correcting the bad tendency. That persuasion once formed, no ballad editor's word could be considered quite as good as his bond; so Child was confirmed in his purpose of seeing the bonds themselves, the original sources, and of governing himself only by what he found therein nominated.

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[1] *E. S. B.*, I, ix.

[2] *E. S. B.*, I, xi.

Having made up his mind to include in the *English and Scottish Ballads* almost all of the ancient ballads and to print them unaltered according to the best readings obtainable, Child had to face, almost unavoidably in so large a collection, the problem of classification. It is clear from what he says and what he does, that this matter gave him pause. He announces a scheme of arrangement and declares in the same breath that the grouping is not to be regarded as a consideration of much importance. He cut the knot by adopting a system of books divided according to subject; within the books the plan is chronological, the sequence being decided by the probable antiquity of the story. In this way he arrives at a division into nine books, which may be briefly described as follows: ballads of romance and chivalry; ballads involving superstitions; tragic love-ballads; other tragic ballads; love-ballads not tragic; Robin Hood ballads; Border ballads; historical ballads; and miscellaneous ballads. While this grouping in its main features is not unlike that which Grundtvig, unknown to Child, had chosen for the Danish ballads, it is more complicated and less manifestly suitable than Grundtvig's arrangement into the four classes of mythical ballads, ballads of marvel and magic, historical ballads, and ballads of chivalry and romance. Child remained unsatisfied with his own scheme, as his change of policy in the second edition and his later correspondence with Grundtvig over the question testifies. In Child's final edition there is little trace of the original classification.

Of the critical apparatus in the first edition, the longish introduction to the book of Robin Hood may be singled out for its surgical excision of the large mass of fanciful theory and legend that had become incrusted about the outlaw's fame. Most of the shorter prefaces to individual numbers throughout the collection are confined to apt quotation from the comments of previous editors, to brief information as to the sources and earlier appearances of the texts, and to the noting of parallels to the stories. Here we discover in tentative form the comparative method that was to mark the mature scholarship of the editor. In the nature of a forecast, too, we may regard the printing of distinct versions of a number of the pieces. Again it must be said, however, that the collection was no mere prophecy, but a definite accomplishment.

The second edition of the *English and Scottish Ballads* (1860) exhibits no very vital changes. A few ballads have been added. A good number of the poems from the former Book First have disappeared, the editor having come to the conclusion that they were rather romances than ballads. As a result of this reduction, the whole number of books falls to eight: of the earlier nine, one is gone and the other eight remain substantially as before. The internal principle of chronological order is retained. The individual prefaces have been elaborated in many instances through the increase of references to parallels and the like. The bibliography has undergone some changes; recent English and Scottish titles have been added, and among the foreign titles appears the significant addition of two or three volumes of Grundtvig.

The rewritten preface shows some changes of opinion. The word *popular* has taken on increased importance as a defining term; it is made to imply "the spontaneous products of nature" as against the works of the professional ballad-maker. In this connection occurs the remark, dictated by no small reverence for the chosen poetry of the people, "No words could express the dulness and inutility of a collection which should embrace all the Roxburghe and Pepys broadsides — a scope with which this publication was most undeservedly credited by an English journal." Child might have been surprised could he have foreseen the appearance of the bulky tomes of the Ballad Society and the volumes with which men of Child's own school, like Professor Percival and Professor Rollins, were to illuminate the non-popular ballads. Child had taken the Grundtvig fever, as his resounding praise of the Danish editor in this Preface bears witness. That this fever is likely to prove both quotidian and tertian may be gathered from Child's intimation that if no more qualified editor should arise, he meant himself in due time to wrestle seriously with the problems of balladry still awaiting solution.

No more qualified editor arose.

As the resolution ripened in Child's mind to set about the preparation of a comprehensive and definitive edition of the ballads, four principal fields of exploration presented themselves: He must get behind all of the printed texts to the sources. He must circumscribe the ground so as to exclude ballads not popular and to include ballads and versions of ballads which had not yet come to his knowledge. He must arrive at a satisfactory theoretical view of the material and so determine the general arrangement of the collection and the larger questions of interpretation of the texts. He must study the whole available mass of popular literature, especially as recorded in all of the European tongues, in order to set forth the numerous foreign parallels and relationships in a broad comparative survey. Some of these problems we have seen to have been with him from the beginning of his interest in the whole subject. They became more imperative after he had brought out his first two editions and had made up his mind to essay the still greater project. There is no attempt here to assert a chronological sequence in the case of the four major requirements. During the years that he was actively engaged in shaping the new work for publication, no one of the needful considerations can have been far from his thoughts.

The long and fascinating story of the search for manuscripts and the securing of them in the original or in exact copies could be pieced together only by the recovery of Child's letters to numerous persons in Great Britain over a period of considerably more than a quarter of a century. The main progress of the quest, nevertheless, can be followed through his printed acknowledgments of assistance and through extant letters addressed to him by many people who aided him in tracking down elusive sources and in recovering manuscripts long hidden or believed to have been permanently lost. Among the more important of these desired helps may be enumerated the Abbotsford MSS, the MSS of Mrs. Brown, of Buchan, of Motherwell, of Kinloch, the Glenriddell MSS, and the Sharpe and Skene MSS; there were others besides, the brief record of which will be found in Child's published list of sources. What the published record cannot reveal is the tangle of difficulties in which the prospective editor found himself involved in trying to gain possession or use of these indispensable means. Some of the manuscripts, in the control of the original owners or of their heirs, were being held under vague prospects of publication in another form. Some had got into the hands of collectors who were quick to sense the possibility of revenue and who were quite justified in protecting financial investments often representing considerable sums. In certain cases Child was able to gain the purposed end through bargaining and purchase. In other instances, extensive negotiation had to be resorted to in order to secure even the right to copy what he needed, negotiations which frequently took on the dignity of diplomacy. In still other cases, an inconvenient and laborious rummaging among family papers had to be undertaken even to ascertain the existence of a manuscript. Obviously, Child could never have accomplished all of this business alone, especially separated as he was by an Atlantic from the field of operations. His position for a number of years became that of managing director of a complicated inquisition.

A great stone was lifted when in 1867–68 Furnivall and Hales, largely through the active participation of Child himself, succeeded in editing the *Percy Folio Manuscript.* For a time, as we learn from a letter of Child's to Grundtvig,[1] Child endeavored to induce the Ballad Society, through Furnivall, to undertake the publication of the popular ballads. This attempt failing by reason of the unavoidable engagements of the Ballad Society with the Roxburghe and the Pepys collections, Child temporarily abandoned the hope of seeing the work done, until an offer of assistance from Grundtvig in 1872 gave him courage to take up the burden anew. Among his first steps was the launching of the campaign to secure access to the manuscripts. Furnivall became one of his principal helpers. A number of others came to his assistance, of whom may be mentioned David Laing, J. B. Murdoch, and Miss Mary Fraser Tytler. Child has named many more in his public acknowledgments. Among them was William Macmath, of Edinburgh; and no single person appears to have a better right to be distinguished as Child has distinguished him. His letters to Child begin in 1873 and continue almost without interruption until the last volume came from the press. Macmath's services were of many sorts. In the course of the years he contributed a number of individual texts and many shrewd bits of practical counsel. He was particularly insistent that Child should not be hurried into print before he had done what was humanly possible to arrive at the original sources of all of the ballads. He acted as Child's agent in negotiations leading to the purchase or the use of several of the most necessary documents. With his own hand he copied thousands of lines of text. Of the capital manuscript sources which he helped to unearth, to copy, or to secure for Child by purchase, particular mention should be made of the Glenriddell MSS, the Kinloch MSS, and the Abbotsford MSS. Macmath's fidelity brought in the Abbotsford MSS for use almost at the eleventh hour, as will appear by reference to the appropriate sections of Child's volumes.

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[1] March 26, 1872.

Through the manuscripts Child not only was enabled to govern the texts that had been printed; he secured at the same time many texts and versions that had not been printed at all. Meanwhile he was engaged by other means in adding to his growing tally, notably by an attempt, never wholly given over, at rescuing what might still survive in oral tradition. In January, 1873, apparently upon taking a fresh lease of determination and hope, he inserted in *Notes and Queries* an appeal for aid in securing manuscripts of older date and more especially for individual collaboration in recovering anything in the way of traditional ballads or fragments that yet remained in the memories of the people. Whatever should be thus rescued was to be sent to Furnivall, who had offered to act for Child. Twenty-five hundred copies of this appeal were printed as leaflets to be circulated in Scotland, Furnivall adding a footnote of commendation. Furnivall took it upon himself, too, to see to the distribution of the circulars. A pleasant glimpse of the procedure is afforded through a letter from Charles Eliot Norton to Child,[1] in which he tells of having secured from Carlyle a list of Scottish schoolmasters, to some of whom Norton and members of his family were engaged at London in addressing the leaflets. Though Child later deplored the almost total want of fruits from this appeal, because of the drying up of the springs of oral tradition, yet he gained the indirect advantage of making his undertaking more widely known and in the course of years no doubt direct contributions sufficient to reward his hopes in part. During the 'seventies he continued from time to time to insert notices in *Notes and Queries* asking after the whereabouts of manuscripts, calling for possible waifs and strays that might still be lurking in print, or begging for copies of specific texts from some broadside or other. In October, 1880, he published in the same periodical a second more general request for assistance in recovering ballads that might still be discovered floating down the thinning current of oral transmission. He explains that a pretty thorough search has demonstrated that little of the sort is to be expected from Scotland, but that remnants of Anglo-Irish balladry might with reasonable expectation be looked for in Ireland, where as yet no systematic attempt has been made to form a collection of that kind. He therefore asks if interested persons would not make an effort to explore Ireland for non-Celtic popular poetry.

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[1] Unpublished letter from Charles Eliot Norton to Child, December 30, 1872, in Child MSS, XI, 13.

To lend point to his request he adds the information that a friend in New York has recovered there a version of *Sir Hugh*, ultimately from an Irish source. In further pursuit of this clue, Child issued in January, 1881, a circular of four pages addressed especially to students in colleges, noting his disappointing experiences with reference to Scotland, expressing anew his belief that Ireland is a more hopeful field, and asking particularly that those who should see his circular endeavor to find immigrant Anglo-Irish ballads in the various regions of the United States. In this case he is able to refer to the discovery by himself of two ballads of this class in his own immediate neighborhood. What is needed now is an extensive search throughout the country not only for Irish, but for English and Scottish poetical traditions that may have been carried into America by immigrants of older and newer date. The circular gives instructions for the proper recording of what may be found and presents two ballad texts in full to show the sort of thing that is wanted.

The immediate results of the sending out of the circular were not the most encouraging. Some texts, nevertheless, came to Child in this way; among the more active collaborators may be mentioned Miss Margaret Reburn, whose communications, not always of the highest value, occupy a separate volume among the Child Manuscripts. In the more than forty years that have passed since that time, a respectable number of the true popular texts have come to light in America, some of which found their way into Child's collection, some of which have been individually or collectively published elsewhere, and others of which remain as an unpublished aftermath in the hands of private collectors or in folklore archives here and there throughout the country. In the circular Child mentions that he has secured the usufruct of all the known manuscript collections but two or three. Other manuscript sources, it is true, turned up afterward; but the public appeals for oral survivals here sketched show how thoroughly Child employed all the possible means of making his work literally comprehensive. Throughout his life he continued unremitting in the pursuit of that aim.

It will be remembered that in the first edition of the *English and Scottish Ballads*, Child made a rather complicated arrangement of the texts and that in the Preface he expressed the opinion that the arrangement was rather a matter of convenience than of vital necessity.[1] It will be understood as well that questions of order are necessarily bound up with questions of the character of a number of the individual pieces, such as, for example, whether the Robin Hood ballads are to be considered as historical or as romantic, or whether *Sir Patrick Spens* is to be placed in one or in the other of these two groups. For Child, therefore, these considerations were certain to obtrude themselves anew as he faced the task of deciding upon a sequence for the texts to be inserted in the definitive edition. His dubieties on this score occasionally came to the surface in correspondence with various European scholars. The problem was most fully discussed, however, and eventually solved through an exchange of letters with Svend Grundtvig.

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[1] Years afterward William Macmath wrote to Child, *à propos* of the placing of a recently discovered text of *The Great Silkie* out of its natural order in the collection: "I am quite with you in what you say as to the difficulties of arrangement. It is a thing I have thought about. But, after all, I am not sure that you were wrong when you said on a former occasion (you said many good things then, some of which you are not *always* ready to stick to!), 'Strictness is offensive as well as useless. Perhaps it is impossible. Ballads are not like plants or insects, to be classified to a hair's breadth.'" Child MSS, XXIV, 468 f.; letter of March 10, 1886.

Grundtvig made the first advance in a letter dated February 17, 1872, in which he refers to his pleasure in having learned to know, some ten years before, Child's earlier ballad edition and in finding there a proper scholarly approach to the subject. He has now heard that Child intends to publish a new and improved edition and therefore offers to give any aid that might be acceptable. Child answers that he has long been wanting to establish a connection with the Danish editor; he gives some information as to the state of his preparations and closes gratefully with Grundtvig's proffer of assistance, but for the timely coming of which, he says, he might have been tempted to abandon his ambitions. In this way began a correspondence between the two which continued till Grundtvig's death in 1883. In the extended series of communications Child, as was natural under the circumstances, takes in the main the part of the querist and Grundtvig the part of the informant; yet in not a few cases Child is able to give a *quid pro quo*. Although various detailed items come to be dealt with in the course of the years, the correspondence has not proceeded far before it is clear that the principle of arrangement has become the uppermost difficulty in Child's mind, so that he repeatedly asks Grundtvig's opinion on this point. At one period Child has come to the conclusion that the knot may be cut by the adoption of no more than two main classes, the romantic and the historical; in other respects he explicitly adopts Grundtvig's methods, but the arrangement of the Danish ballads, into four classes, appears to be unsuited to the English and Scottish. In this judgment Grundtvig concurs, and therefore, in a letter of August 25, 1877, proposes that a division of the English and Scottish ballads should be made, not according to subject-matter as in the Danish, but according to form; a metrical classification which would place first the ballads in the two-line stanza, next those in the four-line stanza of eight and six, and last those in the four-line stanza of eight and eight would, he contends, be natural and historical. This principle, with some modifications, Child eventually adopted. Meanwhile Grundtvig supplied him with a detailed exemplification of this arrangement,[1] with critical observations of various kinds, with notes on Scandinavian parallels, and with unprinted Scandinavian texts. Grundtvig was no doubt Child's most valuable correspondent so far as these larger problems of interpretation and editing were concerned, just as Macmath was the most valuable in the matter of tracing and securing manuscripts and individual texts. While Macmath was continually urging Child not to be rushed into publication before he had exhausted all possible sources of texts, Grundtvig kept prodding him to begin to publish without anxious waiting for the attainment of an impossible ideal. These two complementary counsels of perfection served Child's constitutional and scholarly requirements most admirably; to them we owe in great measure the practical completion of Child's work as the most perfect illustration of the motto of *Festina lente* which his allotted years permitted to him.

Many of Child's queries to Grundtvig were concerned with items of information that might be of service in illustrating the individual ballads through references to foreign parallels, to the occurrence of a ballad theme in other literary forms, to anything in popular lore that would be useful by way of commentary. On similar subjects he maintained an extensive correspondence with a large number of European scholars, such as W. W. Skeat and Andrew Lang in Great Britain, Felix Liebrecht and Reinhold Köhler in Germany, Kaarle Krohn in Finland, Pitrè in Italy, and many others. Through these means he was able to build up gradually a vast fund of miscellaneous note materials the value of which soon became apparent once actual printing was under way. Meanwhile Child was not content merely to reap a harvest from the industry of other men. From the time of his earliest occupation with the ballads, his attention was directed toward the proper illustration of the texts. This interest continued, with some abatement in favor of other studies, throughout his life. To that end it was necessary to form a huge collection of books of ballads in print and a multitude of works covering the wider field of general folklore and outlying domains in the sciences and the humanities. As Professor Kittredge has pointed out in his sketch of the life of Child, one of Child's great services was the bringing together, in the course of many years, of a very valuable special collection of folklore in the Harvard College Library, toward the formation of which the library authorities and private persons collaborated generously. As these indispensable aids were gathered for his needs, Child was placed in a favorable position to prosecute the special studies necessary to the right selection of his texts, their proper disposition, and their interpretation. All this meant the laborious acquiring of familiarity with all of the earlier printed books of English and Scottish ballads and of the more important at least of the foreign collections. It meant a detailed study of hundreds of versions and the painful collation of a large number of them. It involved a careful study of the critical comments of preceding editors. It entailed an acquaintance with practically everything of pertinence that had appeared in print in some form or other, often in the remoter corners of little-known books and periodicals. It required exploration of the constantly broadening reaches of general folklore, of history, of ancient and modern literatures in many tongues. Child gave himself without stint, though not without groanings over various unavoidable distractions, to the severe regimen. So his activities went on year after year until, part by part, the work was done.

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[1] See Appendix B for Grundtvig's proposed order of the English and Scottish ballads; cf. his letters of August 25, 1877, and of January 29, 1880.

The English and Scottish Popular Ballads began to appear in 1882. The work was published in ten parts, intervals of a year or two between the successive instalments being occupied in preparing the next section for publication, a preparation which involved not merely the putting in order of a sheaf of copy but the never-ending search for new texts or versions from manuscripts or from other sources, and the constant supplementing of the fund of critical information. This serial mode of publication, in which again Child patterned after Grundtvig, if it was not absolutely necessary because of the volume of the material, was in many ways decidedly advantageous; it made possible the inclusion, to name one capital instance, of many texts from the Abbotsford MSS, which became available only after the larger part of the work was already in print. The chief disadvantage came to be that the editor did not live to see the publication of Part Ten. He had, however, prepared that part too for the press, with the exception of the final touches upon the indexes and the bibliography and the actual writing of the General Preface, of which he left only a few pages of manuscript. The editorial supervision of Part Ten thus fell to Professor G. L. Kittredge, who for more than a dozen years had been closely associated with Professor Child as a colleague and as a collaborator in the ballad work, and whose independent studies had further equipped him for the task. From Professor Kittredge came also the memorial essay on Professor Child's life included in Part Ten of his book. In the capacity of Child's literary executor, Professor Kittredge has arranged and indexed the Child MSS, in which the story of the ballad collection may be read in detail. These MSS and the Child Memorial Library of which they form a part remain as a permanent monument at home; and *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* carry abroad the remembrance of the *Sapienza e Amore e Virtute* of the editor.

Much as we have cause to regret that Child's pen fell from his hand just as he had begun, in the last month of his life, to set down in order those persuasions about the nature and qualities of the ballads which had grown up in his mind through decades of absorption in the one purpose, the loss of the General Preface is less deplorable than it might at first thought appear. More than once in his letters to various correspondents he expressed the conviction that it was his principal duty to rescue all of the texts that were still to be recaptured. Notwithstanding what he did manage to write down of formal and occasional deliverances of a theoretical or critical kind, his best essay on the ballads will perhaps be held to lie in solution in the selected number of versions that crowd his volumes. He was a modest man, remarkably free from scholarly arrogance and yet firm as need be in a once secured footing. The definite article in his title was put there deliberately. His first Advertisement makes it clear that he intended to gather under one roof all of the truly popular ballads; and there is nothing in the later volumes to indicate material doubt of the fulfilment of his aim. He does admit some numbers, like *The Suffolk Miracle*, *John Thompson and the Turk*, and *Young Ronald*, for which he entertained no high admiration; in the case of the last named, he explains in the preface that he includes this ballad "because of a remote possibility that it might contain relics, or be a debased representative, of something genuine and better." Such was the advice in cases of this sort, he says, of Grundtvig — and he might have added, of Macmath. He preferred to err through inclusion rather than through exclusion. So he arrives at a certain number of ballads and at a given number of versions, not as one who is delivering a ballad Koran to the world, but as one who has come to the thoughtful conclusion that this is the canon of popular balladry.[1] Critics may shake their heads over the admittance of this version or the rejection of that or may reach the opinion that there should have been two hundred and seventy-five or three hundred and fifty popular ballads rather than exactly three hundred and five. Child's roster of the elect, aside from later discoveries, may have no more prospect of remaining unshaken in a world of changing values than, for example, a system of philosophy. *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, nevertheless, is now and bids fair to remain something of a criterion. The collection will always be a record of the mature judgment of a patient and intelligent scholar who knew his way about in the subject and whose nominations of the ballads entitled to be classified as *popular* will have an authoritativeness that could not attach to a pretended infallibility.

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[1] According to Professor Walter Morris Hart's analysis of the differences in contents between the *English and Scottish Ballads* and *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Child in his final edition excluded 115 of the pieces admitted into the earlier collection and added only ninety new titles; the definitive edition increased immensely, of course, the number of new versions under the individual titles. Among the excluded items were romances, lyrics, broadsides, and dishonest ballads of various kinds; see Professor Hart's article on "Professor Child and the Ballad," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXI, No. 4 (December, 1906), 792 ff.

While it is true that the collection itself may be taken as a definition of the character and the distinctive features of the popular ballad, it cannot be denied on the other hand that the choice of texts was dictated by opinions based on a long-continued study of a great body of traditional verse, native and foreign, and on a mass of critical views garnered from many seasons and many lands. In a very real sense Child's theories determined the choice of texts and the texts again influenced the theory. For this reason an examination of the editor's critical tenets will help to explain the genesis and the limits of the collection. The few pages of the General Preface left in manuscript contain not much more than a beginning of a statement of the reasons for undertaking the collection, the great reason being that earlier editors, Percy and Scott, and even Kinloch and Motherwell, had altered and combined their texts.[1] Beyond this point Child's strength did not carry him. In the prefaces and notes of the *English and Scottish Ballads* and of the later collection are to be found a multitude of comments which, pieced together, make up a considerable tissue of criticism. In the article on "Ballad Poetry" in the *Universal Cyclopædia* we have the one connected, though not fully conclusive, presentation of the editor's views.[1] As he sees it, the *popular* ballad, or "narrative song," is a "distinct and very important species of poetry," historically anterior to the poetry of art. "Though these ballads do not 'write themselves,' as William Grimm has said, though a man and not a people has composed them, still the author counts for nothing, and it is not by mere accident, but with the best reason, that they have come down to us anonymous." They become popular through being accepted and traditionally transmitted by a people in which "there is such community of ideas and feelings that the whole people form an individual." They are not to be identified, therefore, with merely the lower classes. "Many of the ballads of the now most refined nations had their origin in . . . the upper class," though in the course of time they have sunk down to be the cherished possession of the commonalty. In the course of tradition they take on technical peculiarities which make them almost impossible to imitate. Such popular narrative poems have at various times thriven among the Spaniards, the Germans, the Scandinavians, the people of Great Britain, and the various Slavic races, and to a less degree among other nations of Europe. As we know them they date from the Middle Ages. The often striking correspondences between the ballads of different nations need not be explained by the hypothesis of prehistoric common origin; similar stories may arise independently in different regions, and in many cases the likeness may be accounted for through borrowing, in which the Crusades may have had a powerful influence. "Ballads are best preserved by oral tradition in Norway and the Faroe Isles." As for Britain, "the English have preserved but a moderate number of very early ballads.[2] . . . A large part of our whole stock has been recovered within the last 130 years from the oral tradition of Scotland."[1]

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[1] A fragment of Professor Child's General Preface, almost the last specimen of his writing, has been preserved among the Child MSS, XVI, 132–137. In the same volume will be found various note materials, excerpts from the works of such scholars as Steenstrup, Gaston Paris, Ferdinand Wolf, and others, which apparently were to be employed in the composition of the Preface.

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[1] Professor Walter Morris Hart has provided a most useful conspectus of Professor Child's critical views, drawn from the article in the *Universal Cyclopædia* and from *obiter dicta* in his various ballad editions; in "Professor Child and the Ballad," as cited above.

[2] See Professor Ewald Flügel's "Zur Chronologie der englischen Balladen," in *Anglia*, XXI (N. S. XI) (1899), 312 ff., for an index of Child's ballads according to the date of their first appearance in manuscript or in print.

These are some of the outstanding features of Child's view of the ballads. His chief work, as he conceived it, consisted in the collection and the incidental definition of the popular ballads of England and Scotland. For an ultimate purpose, if one were required, we may look to these words from his cyclopædia article: [Popular poetry] "can not lose its value. Being founded on what is permanent and universal in the heart of man, and now by printing put beyond the danger of perishing, it will survive the fluctuations of taste, and may from time to time serve, as it notoriously did in England and Germany a hundred years ago, to recall a literature from false and artificial courses to nature and truth."

As a pendant to the large collection there was published in 1904 a selection from Child's texts, edited by Helen Child Sargent and Professor Kittredge, under the title *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. This work, intended as a handbook for the student and the general reader, contains almost all of the ballads of the larger collection, in one or more versions. The Introduction, from the hand of Professor Kittredge, presents a compact exposition of the nature and characteristics of ballad poetry. A number of books of selections have since that time been published in Britain and in America.

Child's great collection, though it marked something of a period in the history of balladry, did not have an altogether discouraging influence upon other collectors and editors. Rather the contrary. In the Old World and in the New, the work has gone on. Probably the most important gleaning in Great Britain during the twentieth century has been that of Gavin Greig, whose *Folk-Song of the North-East* (1914) and *Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs*[2] (1925) comprise a body of texts noteworthy no less in their own right than for their retroactive testimony in the celebrated cause of Peter Buchan. Less conspicuous additions have made their appearance in periodicals and elsewhere.

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[1] The direct quotations are all drawn from the article in the *Universal Cyclopædia*, 1877 ff.

[2] Edited by Mr. Alexander Keith. Cf. Mr. Keith's "Scottish Ballads: their Evidence of Authorship and Origin," in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XII (1926), 100 ff.

In America the influence of Child has been directly responsible for setting on foot systematic search in the field. During his lifetime some few enthusiasts were engaged either in his interest or in their own. Chief among these was Professor Kittredge, who has been in turn pupil, collaborator, and successor to Professor Child. As a teacher, as an editor, as a collector, as a writer on a wide range of topics connected with the ballads, as a stimulating force provocative of enterprise in others, Professor Kittredge has been continuously mindful of his calling. Mainly through his efforts, large additions have been made to the collections at Harvard University of immigrant and native American balladry, only a small part of which has yet been published. Particularly to be noted is the catholicity of interest with which Professor Kittredge has encouraged not only the rescue of versions of the Child ballads but the collecting of other types of vagrant American verse. A few years after the death of Professor Child, Professor H. M. Belden issued a summons to collectors, motivated by the conviction that the work was not finished so far as America was concerned.[1] Since that time, Professor Belden himself, the late Professor C. Alphonso Smith, Professor John A. Lomax, Professor A. H. Tolman, Professor Louise Pound, Mr. L. C. Wimberly, Mr. Phillips Barry, Mr. R. W. Gordon, and many besides in the universities and in other circles have carried forward the task of hunting out texts and subjecting them to criticism. The search in America has embraced not merely the immigrant cousins of Child's ballad aristocracy[2] but of the humbler

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[1] H. M. Belden, "The Study of Folk-Song in America," in *Modern Philology*, II (1904–05), 573–579. See also the same writer's "Balladry in America," in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, January–March, 1912.

[2] Miss Louise Pound reported some years ago that "texts or fragments of nearly 80 of the 305 ballads in the Child collection have been recovered in the United States." *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*, p. 195.

British broadsides, and native poetry of a roughly similar category. Although the New England states and the southern Appalachian regions have proved the most rewarding ground, there is hardly a state in the Union which has not produced some harvest. The Revolutionary War,[1] the Civil War,[2] and the westward migrations have been notable influences in the making and transmission of our folk-poetry. The mountaineers of the South, colored people, western cowboys and miners have been conspicuous in the transmission and to some extent the composition of ballad and folk-song. Not a little has been done toward the ingathering and study of Indian tradition.[3] On the contrary, the immigrant folklore of white racial elements other than those of the British Isles, with the exception of the Germans, the French in Canada, and lesser exceptions among other national groups, has been smothered out or suffered to perish through the slower processes of natural Americanization or through the highly accelerated blast-furnace processes that have become the mode in recent years.

It remains to mention a few of the representative publications that have marked the American movement. An instance of English and American collaboration is Mrs. Olive Dame Campbell and Mr. Cecil Sharp's *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (1917). On the Canadian side there is Professor W. R. Mackenzie's *Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia* (1928), containing a number of versions of Child ballads and many good things besides; with this work should be read the same author's *Quest of the Ballad* (1919), recounting his experiences as a ballad-hunter. For our own country, a general reference must be made in the first place to the services of W. W. Newell and other members of the American Folk-Lore Society, whose *Journal* in the course of many years has brought out an impressive aggregate of ballads, lyrics, and airs.[1] Characteristic books of recent years are Mr. John A. Lomax's *Cowboy Songs* (1910; with additions, 1916), Mr. R. P. Gray's *Songs and Ballads of the Maine Lumberjacks* (1925), Mr. J. H. Cox's *Folk-Songs of the South* (1925), Mr. Reed Smith's *South Carolina Ballads* (1928), Miss Dorothy Scarborough's *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs* (1925), Mr. H. W. Odum and Mr. G. B. Johnson's *The Negro and His Songs* (1925) and *Negro Workaday Songs* (1926).[2] Of a more general inclusiveness would be Mr. Carl Sandburg's *American Songbag* (1927) and Miss Louise Pound's *American Ballads and Songs* (1922).[3] Many of the American texts gathered up by these collectors and their fellows during the past thirty years and more, Professor Child in all likelihood would not have admitted to the company of *Sir Patrick Spens*. Yet even those among them that would certainly have failed of that august election have humbler pretensions of their own. And in due course of time they may contribute much toward the solution of some of the problems that now vex the student of popular traditions.

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[1] M. C. Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763–1783*, 2 vols., 1897; Frank Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*, 1856.

[2] G. C. Eggleston, *American War Ballads and Lyrics*, 2 vols., 1889; W. G. Simms, *War Poetry of the South*, 1867.

[3] See Miss Mary Austin's chapter on "The Aboriginal," and the attached bibliography, in *The Cambridge History of American Literature;* also the most important list of references in Stith Thompson's *Tales of the North American Indians*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929.

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[1] Among the more extensive collections printed in the *Journal* may be mentioned the following: G. L. Kittredge, "Ballads and Songs," XXX, No. 117 (1917), 283–369; A. H. Tolman, "Some Songs Traditional in the United States," XXIX, No. 112 (1916), 155–197; A. H. Tolman and Mary O. Eddy, "Traditional Texts and Tunes," XXXV, No. 138 (1922), 335–432; A. P. Hudson, "Ballads and Songs from Mississippi," XXXIX, No. 152 (1926), 93–194. Other important contributions have come from H. M. Belden, Phillips Barry, E. C. Perrow, H. W. Odum, and many besides. The *Journal* is far and away the most valuable single resource for the student of American balladry. See the Tolman–Eddy article for check-lists of American ballads and songs by Phillips Barry, by H. M. Belden, by Louise Pound, by H. G. Shearin and J. H. Combs.

[2] For a list of books containing negro ballads, lyrics, and airs, see M. N. Work's *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America*, New York, 1928.

[3] On the general history of American balladry, see Miss Louise Pound's chapter on "Oral Literature," with the appended bibliography, in *The Cambridge History of American Literature*; and the chapter on "Balladry in America" in the same writer's *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*, 1921. Various bibliographies prepared by W. C. Ford give information on the earlier ballad history of our country; e. g., *Broadsides, Ballads, etc. printed in Massachusetts, 1639–1800*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1922.

CHAPTER IX

IN FINE

> I know a very wise man that believed that if a man were permitted to make all the Ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a Nation.
>
> FLETCHER OF SALTOUN.

IT CANNOT be said of the ballad men, in the impious words of one who long ago frequented the arguments of doctor and saint, that they have come out by the same door as in they went. Let it be so that the arguments of some among the worthies whose deeds are here chronicled would not now command attention and that their administration of the texts was often culpable. Let it even be admitted that the best of the editors and critics, men like Grundtvig and Child, left work undone, left final words unspoken. No edition must be regarded as absolutely definitive; no doctrinal system must be held impeccable. Nevertheless, we have looked upon an era of great accomplishments, if it should not rather be called an epoch. To some of the positive results of the ballad movement we now accordingly turn.

The principal achievement in the history of balladry during the last century or two has been the gathering of the texts. Although oral tradition has been gradually silenced in the presence of a noisier modern civilization, collectors since the days of Scott have made remarkable additions to the whole store of traditional verse, remarkable in number and in quality. The discovery of older manuscript and printed sources has increased the tally appreciably. England, Scotland, Denmark, to name obvious instances, had respectable funds by the end of the eighteenth century. In other countries, like Norway and France, collecting has been mainly a development of the nineteenth century. The success of one country has stimulated activity in another, so that the search has assumed almost universal proportions. Meanwhile the more exact definition of traditional poetry and the growing respect for it have made the editors increasingly scrupulous, not merely in the acceptance of individual ballads but in their redaction of texts for inclusion in books. Difficult as it was for interlopers to escape the detection of expert judges like Child and Grundtvig, the number of accepted Danish ballads exceeds five hundred and the count of English and Scottish ballads reaches beyond three hundred. Norway has some two or three hundred awaiting final publication. Other countries make various showings in the census. Many ballads have not been published at all. The universal list of titles would run into thousands. The total of versions is beyond accurate computation. Add to all this the heaping up of ballads not strictly popular in numerous subsidiary manuscripts and published books, and the aggregate importance of the work of the collectors will be evident. Most of the collectors and editors have been men; occasional exceptions may be noted, as in the case of Eva Wigström in Sweden. Women, however, have had much to do with the preservation of traditional verse. There is the celebrated instance of Queen Sophia of Denmark, who encouraged Anders Vedel to print his book of ballads as early as 1591. There is the group of aristocratic Danish ladies from whose hands so many of the valuable manuscripts have come down. There is Mrs. Brown of Falkland, the coadjutor of Scott and Jamieson. Kinloch's "old singing women," other women in many lands have kept verses alive in their memory. If Remy de Gourmont is right in saying that woman preserves the old traditions that the grown man discards, and that in preserving them she creates them anew,[1] there would be much truth in describing women as the savers, if not the makers, of the ballads, and men as their brokers and bankers.

Grundtvig and Child, notwithstanding modest disclaimers, were not content with gathering ballads together and reducing them to permanent record; they subjected the material to studious examination. Grundtvig was the pioneer; Child followed faithfully but by no means slavishly in the footsteps of his predecessor. In their attitude, in their patient and comprehensive methods, they signalized a new approach to the whole subject. Their example has proved influential in determining the practice of many later scholars, not to mention once more the fundamental axiom that without proper collecting and editing there can be no proper commentary. As we survey the outstanding accomplishments of ballad criticism during the whole period, we find that the popular ballad has been more exactly, though not conclusively, defined; that the main paths for the investigation of origins have been outlined; that a working classification has been arrived at; that the basic laws of tradition have been observed; and that consequently the capital significance of the several versions of the one ballad has been once for all established. For the accepted texts, the relation of the versions to each other, the relation of single ballads to other single ballads or to groups, the relation of one ballad to its numerous foreign brothers or cousins or remoter congeners, have been traced in elaborate separate studies by Grundtvig and Child and other scholars. We have had many valuable books and articles on special aspects and topics. Ballads have become the subject of dignified and fruitful enquiry on the part of linguist, prosodist, historian, psychologist, philosopher. On the confines of the field, those who have been intent upon some other pursuit, be it myth, saga, romance, folk-tale, legend, be it epic or lyric or drama, have brought home much that helps to explain the ballad. The study of popular verse, which once was a foible of antiquarians, and then the daydream of the romantics, has become the midnight passion of the scientist, if that august term may, under correction, be so employed. Boasting, a positive merit with our Germanic forbears, is no longer in good odor among their more modest descendants. And yet, though the horizon of learning remains always a horizon, we do know more about the ballads than Scott and Geijer knew. A world of change lies between Addison's timid justification of *Chevy Chase* and the cool assurance with which the modern ballad man flaunts the colors of his guild.

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[1] "Les femmes et le langage," in *Le chemin de velours.*

One result of the constantly widening investigation of popular traditions has been to fix the place of the ballads as a principality within the broader empire of folklore. This principality adjoins the provinces of popular lyric, folk-tale, romance, saga, and the like. The substance of the ballads would embrace folklore elements such as myth, legend, superstitious notions and observances, social customs — whatever the folk, however understood, has possessed in earlier and later periods as a store of knowledge, belief, practice — in a word, *lore*. In identifying and defining such traditional survivals as belonging in some special sense to the folk, science has at the same time established the peculiar value of such relics, not least those that have come down to us in relatively constant forms like the folk-tale and the ballad, as evidence of what the folk have thought and felt and been. Thus they contribute to our historical knowledge about the folk (*Volkskunde*). In this dual sense the ballads have become instructive documents in our study of general humanity from a fascinating and important point of view. While it is true that traditions remain alive only so long as they continue current among the people, it is no less necessary to recognize that as documents for the historian and the philosopher traditions acquire their most potent testimonial value only when they are reduced to permanent record. A ballad, like other folklore, is not stifled out of oral currency by the mere circumstance of being put down on paper. The folk may continue to recite it; the student and the reader gain the opportunity of knowing it, as it was at the moment it was recorded in writing.

In a material sense, traditional ballads, once they have been committed to the written or printed page, have become literature. At various times doubts have been expressed as to whether ballads so recorded, and much more those not yet remanded to captivity in ink, deserve to be called literature in any higher meaning of the term. It must be conceded, nevertheless, that whatever Percy's contemporaries thought, the *Reliques* have become literature in the best acceptation of the word. Scott's *Minstrelsy* is a literary work. If it be urged that Percy and Scott by their own exertions turned a raw material into a finished product, some justice may be allowed to this point of view; and yet the whole story is not therewith told. The collections of Grundtvig and of Child may be regarded in the main as scholarly achievements, but the ballads themselves have surely been accepted as part and parcel of Danish literature and of English literature. Whether we are to regard the ballads as good literature is another matter, depending a great deal on private judgment. At any rate, we no longer apply artificial criteria like those of Addison and Johnson, but we let the ballads carry their own aesthetic appeal as a rather simple but genuine sort of poetry. Pieces like *Edward*, *Sir Patrick Spens*, *Child Maurice* are respectable poems by any standard. English literature could hardly spare the English and Scottish ballads. Other countries, like Denmark and Norway, might hold their traditional poetry at an even higher estimate.

In still another meaning ballads may be said to have become literature. They have in various earlier periods been absorbed into literary works of many kinds. Just how far ballads as we know them may have entered as constituent elements into historical or fictitious narrative, into poetry, into drama, it is not easy to demonstrate for the older stages of our letters. The occasional employment of materials from the Robin Hood cycle by later Middle English historians, poets, and dramatists offers one striking, if somewhat obscure, series of testimonies. If we look further back and consider rather the substance of the ballads than their form, rather their folklore contents than any specific ballad story that we are now familiar with, the interrelations become indeed more complicated but none the less positive. The Scandinavian ballad recounting Thor's recovery of his hammer has some connection with the Eddic poem on the same subject; the later ballad is a comic, and the earlier Eddic poem a serious, treatment of the theme. The Eddic poem itself depends on much more ancient Norse myth, whatever the form may have been, verse or prose, in which the writer of the Eddic poem found the mythical narrative he has retold. Similar connections have been often traced between story elements occurring in ballads and similar episodes imbedded in ancient epics in many tongues, although the precise concatenation is not clear. So with not a few features common to ballad and saga, of which the great *Nibelungen* complex of saga, epic, and ballad forms a compendious illustration. In short, the collecting of traditional ballads has placed a vast fund of materials in the hands of the student of comparative literature, and during the last century many important investigations have been made on this basis, the total results of which have measurably widened our knowledge.

With the definite advent of the collectors and the consequently increasing general familiarity with traditional poetry, ballad form and ballad theme become the object of imitation, adaptation, incorporation, transformation. Percy, Bürger, Scott, Monk Lewis, Southey, Oehlenschläger, Tegnér, Longfellow, Whittier — these are only a few of the many imitators among the romantic generation; later poets, like Rossetti, Morris, Swinburne, carried on to some degree the old traditions; and the echoes are not yet quite silenced. Novelists like Scott and Ingemann, dramatists like Ibsen have refashioned ancient ballads into new literature. More indefinable streams of influence have coursed through books of many kinds from Percy's day to our own day. Although these archaizing tendencies have been more notable in certain periods, as in the first decades of the last century, than in others, the collecting of Grundtvig stimulated such a revival of interest in the Scandinavian countries that it has amounted almost to a secondary romantic movement. Altogether, the various influences of ballads upon literature have depended largely on what might be called national requirements. The literature of England, nurtured upon the works of a long succession of great writers, had less need of the ballads than had, for example, the literatures of Denmark and Norway, in which countries extended periods of relative dearth and of oppressive foreign domination had created a literary hunger which the ballads themselves helped to still, as a sort of repossessed harvest, and which men of letters, nourished from this native harvest, have further appeased. In such national requirements may perhaps also be found the explanation for the circumstance that the influence of the ballads upon English literature has rather tended toward poetic imitation and adaptation, while the influence upon Scandinavian literatures has taken a wider sweep and assumed the character of a general rejuvenation. In no other country, to my knowledge, have the native ballads been more extensively and constantly employed for a variety of literary uses than in Denmark. In America, immigrant European traditions, some of which must have been long naturalized, have until recently been so trodden under foot that any considerable incorporation in our literature of such Americanized elements is hardly to be noted. Purely native traditions have not shown themselves much more fruitful.

National needs have been an essential factor as well in determining the extent to which popular literature has helped to knit the bonds of nationality. In earlier periods, folklore as a whole, representing the sum of what the group, the tribe, the incipient nation thought and believed and practised, must have had a powerful unifying force. In the modern revival of forgotten folklores that unifying tendency has in varying degrees asserted itself anew. And the nations that have most needed such a vitalizing influence or, to view the case somewhat differently, have most clearly seen the value of folklore as a unifying agency, have profited accordingly. England, with her ancient and strongly developed sense of nationalism, has experienced relatively little of the peculiarly modern folklore renaissance. Scotland, where memories of a quondam independence have themselves become a cherished tradition, has found in her popular literature a new tie that binds. Wales has maintained a certain secret freedom by similar means. The leaders of the new Ireland have summoned the people through the old speech and the old songs. The Grimm brothers and others among the earlier German folklorists worked for the intellectual and spiritual unity of the fatherland, and their successors have kept the same patriotic end in view. Danish folklore has been for a century and more a battle standard in the arduous fight for the preservation of Danish culture; the two Grundtvigs, father and son, were standard bearers conscious of a loyal purpose. Sweden, less in danger from external influences, has been in some respects less zealous. The Swedish Finlanders present a brilliant example of what can be done by a smaller group intent on surviving against odds. The Finns have made a struggle for nationality as epic as the *Kalevala* which is their rallying cry. Iceland and the Faroes have found in their ancient traditions a permanent staff and stay. And Norway is even now, as she has been for decades, reviving her ancient speech and recovering her ancient folktales and ballads in a spirit of vigorous nationalism.

Meanwhile, what of our own country? Is it possible that we have been remiss in noticing and employing valuable traditions that have long flowed in upon us with the coming of the millions that have peopled this land? An opinion seems to be prevalent among us that European traditions are dangerous to American traditions. One fallacy in this point of view lies in forgetting that many American traditions were at one time European traditions. Another fallacy lies in ignoring the fact that when a European tradition of whatever origin comes into this country it becomes an American tradition. Still another lies in a perhaps pardonable want of understanding that a large proportion of the sort of traditions we are concerned with here, have in Europe a wide international currency. Our country might at all events do well to be hospitable to any and all poetic, musical, and artistic traditions, of whatever European derivation, that show the least capacity to survive the hurly-burly of our civilization. American nationality will be a composite of all the national elements of population that find their way into this country; their traditions will be our traditions; their art will be our art.

A friend to whom I once spoke of the influence of the revival of folklore upon national sentiment objected that there is already too much of offensive nationalism in this poor world of ours. Let anyone who is similarly troubled in mind dismiss his fears. Folklore is at once national and international. No thoughtful student of folklore can possibly become a Chauvinist.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

THE GRUNDTVIG–CHILD CORRESPONDENCE

Introductory Note

The correspondence between Grundtvig and Child will speak for itself. Beginning in 1872 and continuing until Grundtvig's death in 1883, it covers a period during which Grundtvig was still engaged in the publication of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* and Child was mainly occupied with preparations for *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, only the first part of which Grundtvig saw in print before he died.

In the entire exchange of communications between the Danish editor and the American editor, a distinction is to be made between letters as such and subsidiary manuscript of one sort or another, between addressed and signed epistles on the one hand and enclosures on the other hand. Enclosures of note materials, copies of texts, and the like, were despatched with many of the letters from both sides; sometimes similar addenda were sent under separate cover. In such detached communications Child provided Grundtvig with notes on individual ballads, references to foreign parallels, copies of texts and of critical observations, anything that he thought pertinent to Grundtvig's researches. Grundtvig, on his part, did a like service for Child. Among the more important accessory contributions from Grundtvig, special value attaches to his detailed series of comments on Child's first collection, the *English and Scottish Ballads*; a similar series of remarks on Buchan's *Ancient Ballads and Songs*; and a complete list of English and Scottish ballads in their several versions and in the order which Grundtvig, at Child's request, proposed as the proper sequence for publication. Of these detached enclosures, only Grundtvig's index of English and Scottish ballads is included in this volume, as Appendix B. The bearing of other subsidiary documents, from both sides, will usually be made clear through specific mention in the letters; where it is not, some notes have been added. The individual letters are presented, without omissions, as I have found them among Grundtvig's manuscripts in the Danish Folklore Collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen and among Child's papers in the Child Memorial Library of Harvard University.

The correspondence, as defined above, is given complete in the following pages, so far as I know, with the exception of one inconsiderable item, the absence of which is noted in the proper chronological sequence.

Child's and Grundtvig's own footnotes are in each case identified as theirs.

The letters of Child are reproduced from photostatic copies prepared under the supervision of Mr. H. Grüner Nielsen and Mr. Hans Ellekilde, curators of the Danish Folklore Collection. The letters of Grundtvig are reproduced from the originals, all written by him in English, in the Child Memorial Library so far as I have there found them intact; in some instances I have had to supply *lacunæ* or even complete letters by means of drafts or copies in Grundtvig's own hand, preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection, under which circumstances I have again been fortunate in commanding the good offices of Mr. Nielsen and Mr. Ellekilde.

The correspondence as a whole serves to supplement the history of two great ballad collections, to increase our knowledge of the working methods and the critical views of two great ballad men, and to reveal something of the contours of two personalities. More particularly, these letters help us to understand that Grundtvig had reason to hail *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* as a scion of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser.*

COPENHAGEN, Feb. 17th, 1872.

PROFESSOR FRANCIS JAMES CHILD,
HARVARD COLLEGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

MOST HONORED SIR AND COLLEAGUE,

More than once during the last ten years I have been on the point of addressing a letter to you, to express my esteem for your literary merits, and my gratitude for the benefit derived from you.

The first occasion for this intention of mine was the appearance of your excellent editions of *English and Scottish Ballads.* The Boston edition of 1857 voll. I–IV reached me in 1861, and not till several years afterwards did I become acquainted with the London edition of 1861 [1] in 8 voll. As an old student and an enthusiastic admirer of the old Anglo-Scottish Ballads

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[1] The first edition of the *English and Scottish Ballads* was published in eight volumes — not in four — at Boston, 1857–59, as part of a "British Poets" series. Vols. I–IV appeared in 1857; vols. V–VIII, in 1859. A second edition was published at Boston, 1860, in eight volumes. The "London edition of 1861" mentioned by Grundtvig was no doubt a London issue of the American second edition. The "second edition, Boston, 1866" noted in my *Ballad Criticism*, p. 11, is therefore more correctly to be described as a reissue of the second edition of 1860.

(my *début* in literature thirty years back was with a translation of some of them), I felt a great desire to write and let you know, how glad I was to see that at last an English Scholar (though not an Englishman in the political sense of the word) had taken the task into his hand, and had executed it in a scholarlike and rational manner.

When afterwards I became acquainted with the London edition of 1861, another and more personal motive prompted me to write, namely the feeling of gratitude for the very flattering mention you had made — in the Preface and elsewhere — of my literary efforts, and no less for the good use you had made of my work. For a great satisfaction it was to me, to see the relationship between the Anglo-Scottish and the Scandinavian ballad poetry, through the medium of your book, acknowledged and proclaimed to the English and American public.

But however strong my feelings of gratification and gratitude were on that occasion, still they could not force me into action, because I am a busy man, with always plenty to do, and with a great disinclination for letter-writing without any direct or practical purpose. I therefore left unused even the third occasion for expressing my sincere thanks to you, as the *primus motor* of the so long and so hopelessly looked for publication of the famous and mysterious Percy Manuscript. (Cfr. *Notes and Queries*, Vol. XII, p. 21.) Only it is a pity that the publication itself was not left in your hands. No doubt the result then would have been a great deal better, and the really valuable parts of the MS., which are comparatively small, would not have been choked by the immense heap of rubbish, mixed up with it: the many insignificant or utterly worthless late transcripts of old metrical tales and romances, preserved elsewhere in much older and far better texts. Some of those transcripts might have been used for collation, but the printing of them *in extenso* only serves to breed distaste for that class of literature, and to mislead the public with regard to the genuine popular ballad lore and the also very interesting, though less poetical, historical minstrelsy of a somewhat later age, many good specimens of which are contained in the same manuscript; then the literary world would also have been spared the silly attempts at elucidations, literary, linguistical and otherwise, evidently written by persons who know nothing of the subject. But such is commonly the case with English editions of the old poetry of their own country. They generally know but very little of what has been done before in their own line within their own literature, and nothing at all of corresponding foreign literature. They very often go to their task with a true and very laudable enthusiasm, but generally without any preceding regular study, — They are dilettantes, not scholars.

This I have so often had reason and occasion to deplore, that you may conceive what a pleasant surprise it was to me, when in your edition of the *English and Scottish Ballads* I met a fellow-scholar, who knew beforehand the literature in question, and knew how to distinguish the very different kinds of poetical productions, older and later, popular and artificial, which by English editors, ever since the time of Bishop Percy, have been mixed up indiscriminately under the general head of "Old Ballads."

The new motive which has come to the former insufficient ones, and has at last decided me to inflict this letter upon you, is this. A report has reached me, that you are going to publish a new and revised edition of your *English and Scottish Ballads*. This piece of news has called forward all my old love for the subject, and made me feel it a duty to offer the assistance I may be able to lend, to make the new edition of your book as perfect as possible. It is my ardent wish that it should be so, and I deem this to be of no small consequence to the literary world, as your book no doubt will be a standard work, henceforth the general source of information concerning the ballad lore of England and Scotland.

I hope that it may not be thought presumptuous in me, to think that my coöperation might be desirable and of some value even to the most able and erudite editor of the English Ballads, and that the store of knowledge and experience which is at my command, might contribute something to give your book that degree of perfection which would be desirable in a work of the description above named.

In the first place, though you are as well acquainted with the English ballad sources as any man living, and though you have had access to such as have been unknown or inaccessible to me, still in a few instances I think that I might be able to add to your store.[1]

Secondly, you have in not a few cases left out ballads of poetical merit, not because they were of an obscene or revolting character (as *Bonny Hind* and all her fellows — some of which I wish you could have spared), but evidently because you thought them to be spurious. This is particularly the case with such ballads as are only found in Mr. P. Buchan's much abused but very valuable collections. But now I am able to prove, through a comparison with undoubtedly genuine Scandinavian ballads, the material authenticity of many of those pieces, which consequently may safely [be added] to the English ballad store.[2]

Thirdly, though in critical tact and judgment you leave all your English predecessors far behind you, still I presume, that in some instances it might be of some interest even to you, to have my critical opinion on the question of the genuineness or wilful corruption of ballad texts.

Thus far as concerns the English materials.

In the fourth place, I should think it proper, that in the headquarters of British Ballad should be found some information regarding the corresponding ballads in other Gothic languages. Now I am, as you know, in possession not only of all the as yet unpublished greater part of my Collection of Danish Ballads, but also of all printed, and besides a great many unprinted, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic and Faeroe ballads, some of which are only different versions of English and Scottish ones. Possibly also my knowledge of corresponding ballads in German, Dutch and other tongues might add some contributions of interest.

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[1] The rest of the letter has not been preserved among the Child MSS. It is completed here from a photostatic copy of Grundtvig's own draft, preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection (Dansk Folkemindesamling 69) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

[2] See the last footnote to Grundtvig's letter of March 25, 1874.

Lastly, I think it possible, that sometimes I might be able to supply some useful information to the correct explanation of archaic or provincial words and phrases, particularly Scottish or North English, derived from the Scandinavian languages.

It is, as I have said, my ardent wish, to contribute as much as possible to the completion and perfection of your work. — I wish I could stop here. But there is still left a delicate point, which cannot be omitted. I wish that I had the leisure and the independence, that I might offer you my service without any remuneration. But that unfortunately I cannot do. Though my assistance is not to be bought, yet it must be paid for, or else, I am sorry to say, it cannot be given. The fact is, that as a professor of the university I have only a small salary, and all my spare hours therefore must be turned to profit, not only in an ideal, but also in a material point of view. And the work I could wish to do for you certainly would take no little time. Now, my dear Sir, you must judge for yourself, whether the assistance here offered would be of that importance to you, and even to the booksellers, that the enterprize could and should be encumbered with a moderate salary to me. To speak plainly, I must value the time it would take me to give you all the information I could wish, to the sum of 500 American dollars. And so I have done with this to me very painful and disgusting topic.

I should like to know, whether you have received the parts of my Ballad Work [1] published since 1861. You have had and used the 1st part of the IIId vol. published in the year 1858. The 2nd and finishing part of that volume did appear in 1862. In the year 1863 I was called to the university as a professor of Northern Philology, and for some years afterwards all my time was taken up by the Old Northern or Icelandic language and literature. The literary fruits of this occupation were a critical edition of the *Old Edda* and some dissertations on Northern Antiquities. In the year 1869 did appear the 1st, in 1870 the 2nd part of the IVth vol. of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, a 3d part will appear in a few months, but the volume will not be complete till the appearance of the 4th part. The edition then will comprise a number of 254 ballads; but the entire number of Danish Ballads amounts to no less than 600. Consequently much is still to be done, and the whole work cannot be finished in a short space of time. Since the termination of the IIId volume, 10 years ago, two old Ballad Manuscripts from the 16th and 17th century have turned up, and every year brings lots of new versions, even of middle-age ballads hitherto unknown, obtained from oral recitation in different parts of Denmark. Though the Anglo-Scottish Ballad carries the prize in some respects, as the most refined and poetical, still the Danish is at once the most antique and that of which most has been preserved.

With the expressions of the highest esteem and the warmest sympathy,
I remain, my dear Sir, Yours faithfully,
SVEND GRUNDTVIG.

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[1] *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (*DgF*), 1853 ff.

Cambridge, March 26, 1872.

Professor Svend Grundtvig,
Copenhagen.

My dear Sir,

I have seldom had so great a pleasure as your letter gave me. It came over in the usual time, but a very sad death of a lovely cousin and friend — which occurred by the way the very day you were writing — has completely unfitted me for attending even to a subject so important and interesting. I beg you to make the excuses which nothing but an overwhelming stroke would have rendered necessary.

For my part I have been in pursuit of you these many years. My admiration for your scholarship and my sympathy for your admiration of Ballad Poetry, it would be hard to exaggerate. I have waited with eagerness and lately with some apprehension, for the continuation of the *Gamle Folkeviser*. At one time, hearing that you had formerly been a lieutenant in the Danish service, (is this so?) I feared that you had been sacrificed in the war. Last summer I fell in with the Swedish minister — Stenersen — a very pleasant man, and as soon as I could find an opportunity I asked him about you. To my surprise he told me that you and he were connected by marriage, and he offered to forward a letter for me. As the immediate point I wished to ascertain was settled by a publisher's catalogue — namely the appearance of a part of volume IV of the *Folkeviser* — I did not feel warranted in troubling you, though I have for these ten years been perpetually wishing to open communications. At last, thanks to your kindness, my wish is effected, and in a way peculiarly agreeable.

Ever since I attempted an edition of the English and Scotch ballads, I have had the intention of making some day a different and less hasty work. I had at the time neither leisure nor materials, and as you, better than anybody, could perceive, but a very insufficient knowledge of the subject. The collection was made as a sort of *job* — forming part of one of those senseless huge collections of *British Poets*. I have been accumulating in our College Library ballad-books in all languages since then, and there is now at my disposal a very fair lot of Ballad, *Mährchen*, Saga and Legend literature — some of it alas! in languages, such as Slavic, which I can't read, and which the rapid advance of time makes it unlikely that I shall ever learn. I have been so encumbered with a barren kind of work in the college, and with the care of my family, that I have scarcely given more than a passing thought to our Ballads in all these years. At last the fear of dying with nothing done incited me to propose to my enthusiastic friend Furnivall of London — founder and motive power of I know not how many printing societies, that the English Ballad Society should undertake a proper edition of the English and Scotch ballads. I wished to use that society because I thereby should escape all control from publishers, both as to the extent of the work and the rate of publication. Furnivall objected that the society had undertaken to print the Roxburghe and Pepys Ballads, a work of twenty years, and though he confessed that these ballads were mostly pure *rubbish*, he thought that he must carry through the scheme. Subsequently, when I told him that not even the stolid patience of a book-collector, a most useful though often well nigh imbecile creature, would suffice for twenty years of Roxburghe ballads, Furnivall half consented to introduce the genuine national ballad into his scheme. This only lately. Your letter at once puts matters into a different position. In the first place your coöperation stimulates my inclination to the undertaking immensely. With your help I feel sure that I could do the work somewhat as it ought to be done. At any rate it would stretch over some years, but the amount of time necessary to complete the collection would be greatly abridged, and I should not so much fear being cut short by inexorable death. What courage you have, if you look forward confidently to finishing your magnificent task! In the second place, I should at once drop the Ballad Society and seek for a publisher. The Ballad Society is so ill supported that it could not afford any expenses beyond printing and copying, and the circulation of its books is and must be limited. I have no doubt that I can find a publisher who will assume the necessary expenses. Your coöperation I regard, I need not say, as beyond any money value, and the very small sum you mention it would not be out of my power to advance, in expectation of receiving it back finally from the profits of the work. Unfortunately professors all the world over are for the most part far from independent in their circumstances, and I belong to the great majority, though I fancy I am much better paid than much superior men at Copenhagen. I am particularly obliged to you for your frankness, and beg that such a matter may not be considered as painful or even delicate *between us*.

There are a hundred questions relating to our Ballads which I should want your opinion about. The shortest way of getting your opinion would be for me to run across the water during some summer vacation and consult you in Copenhagen. That, however, many things prevent, and I must trust to correspondence. It occurs to me as barely possible that you might some time like to cross the ocean yourself if a way were opened. We have an institution in Boston called the Lowell Lectures, in which five or six courses of free lectures are given every year, beginning, I think, in October. Twelve lectures make a course and the sum paid the lecturer is very considerable — not less than 1500 dollars, I believe. Now if you liked to come over here for such an object, I think I could procure you an invitation. Your expenses would be slight, the time required for the lectures six weeks, and for going and coming four weeks more. The expenses of the transit by the German steamers would not be great, and you might have as the proceeds of the ten weeks ten or eleven hundred dollars clear. How does this strike you? Lectures on the Old Norse literature, the Eddas and Sagas, would be a proper subject, and I have little doubt that I could get the appointment, though literary lectures are not so frequently given in this course as scientific and philosophical ones. Your English is so excellent that you would have no difficulty that way. This is quite off from our principal subject, but the idea was so agreeable to me that when once it had come into my head I could not but mention it.

The sources of English and Scotch ballads may be regarded as sealed or dried up for ever. There are, however, several manuscripts in existence which have never been printed and which I should wish by all means to get hold of: such as Herd's and Mrs. Brown's MSS., used by Jamieson and others, and a Glenriddel MS. referred to by Walter Scott. These I suppose are lying *perdu* somewhere in Scotland and might be disinterred. They would not afford much, but we should be able to restore readings altered by editors at any rate. There was also another MS. in the possession of Bishop Percy's descendants, but Furnivall has the impression that it contained nothing but copies of printed things. He has promised to look the matter up. — As for Buchan, he is, you know, commonly spoken of as an unscrupulous falsifier. From the internal evidence, the extraordinary *vulgarity*, especially, of many of his ballads, I should think that he must have tampered very extensively with his originals, if even he did not invent out and out. I should wish to sift that matter thoroughly. Buchan's son offered me some years ago all the relics his father left behind him. Much as I distrusted their value and genuineness, I should have bought them if I had not seen that a considerable sum was expected for them. The same man only a few months ago wrote to ask if he could purchase a degree from this university! — which did not look well. — The first point now is to find a publisher in America or in England and I will immediately set to work about the enquiry. The 8 stereotyped volumes of the existing collection are an obstacle that I could wish out of the way. I will promptly inform you of my progress. Let me repeat first my regret that this answer should be so long in coming. It was only last Saturday that we received our dead cousin from Europe and the state of mind and even of health which I have been in has made it simply impossible to write earlier. Let me repeat also the assurance of my very great pleasure at being at last in communication with you. There is literally no man in Europe whose acquaintance and friendship I should so highly esteem. I wish you would send me a photographic likeness of yourself. I will do the same as soon as some have been taken which I am to have made.

Believe me, my dear Professor, your obliged and faithful servant and friend,

F. J. CHILD.

COPENHAGEN, June 2, 1872.

PROFESSOR F. J. CHILD,
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your very kind and friendly letter reached me in due time six weeks ago, so I must beg your pardon for having suffered so long a time to elapse without its bringing you an answer. I beg you to receive my best thanks for your good opinion of me, and for your friendly feelings towards me. The frank and gentlemanly manner in which you meet my proposals, fully answered to the idea I had already formed of your amiable personality.

However uncertain the realisation of my plan and my wish, to embrace in some way even the Angloscotic department of the common Gothic Middleage Ballad Poetry, it is at all events very satisfactory to me, that *you* would accept and value my coöperation, and that I have not been too late in offering such assistance as I may be able to yield. I had some fears that your undertaking might be too far advanced to admit of my interference. Perhaps now I may even have been happy enough to stimulate you to the task which *you* of all men ought to take upon your hands, so that I may have been the means to get realized what else perhaps might have remained a phantom purpose for a long time to come.

Now, as soon as I know that it will serve a practical purpose, I will set to work on the Angloscottish Ballads, and try to be as useful to you as possible. But beforehand *you* must have formed your plan and fixed upon the order of contents, which I think ought to be something more systematic than in your former editions, and I should say — without any appendices.

The first thing however is to get hold of the materials for the building, if any such are to be found, hitherto unknown or not properly made use of. If for instance, as you suppose, the MSS. of David Herd and of Mrs. Brown, so frequently quoted by Sir Walter Scott, were to be got at, I have no doubt that we should hit upon a rich vein of a more genuine ballad lore, than what has been presented to the public by the last named illustrious author. For though Sir Walter had a much better taste and tact for the old poetry than Bishop Percy, still he was, I am much afraid, not a bit more scrupulous with regard to his materials. Robert Jamieson, and to a great extent also Motherwell and Kinloch, were honest people; but the extreme elegance and exquisite taste exhibited in many of Scott's texts is to my eyes a strong direct proof of their want of genuineness, while on the other hand what you term the "vulgarity" of the Buchan texts is to me the best proof of their material authenticity. For it must be remembered — and is well known to ballad collectors of the old world,[1] where the tradition of bygone days still lingers on, — that in the recent traditions of the common country people (peasantry) the old ballad cannot always appear in a stately and knightly form and apparel, but must in many instances exhibit the traces of a long dwelling in humble company. And besides, very often what now to delicate eyes and ears may seem "vulgar," is in fact of the old stamp, retaining the features and phrases of the higher classes in the middle ages. For the chivalry *in reality* was by no means so refined and sentimental as it appears in modern romance. Must not even Shakespeare be found guilty in many instances of extreme "vulgarity," if he is to be weighed by the scale of a Tennyson? — But as far as I know, not even the most revolting and shocking subjects are in the old genuine ballad treated in a manner that may be termed immoral, which is more than can be said of the most approved modern poets, such as Byron and Moore. Let us have the old national ballads as antique and genuine as possible, and let us not prefer or substitute the bastards of modern forgers, however gifted and elegant and polished. The old times shall be seen in their *best*, but in their *own clothes*, and be judged by their own standard.

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[1] The preceding part of the letter, not having been preserved among Child's papers, is here given from a photostatic copy of Grundtvig's own draft, preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection of the Royal Library at Copenhagen; what follows is given from the portion preserved in the Child MSS, with the exception of the "P. S.," which, like the first part, is reproduced from the draft in Copenhagen.

I sincerely hope that you may be able to examine the Scottish MSS. in question. I know nobody in Edinburgh from whom more trustworthy information concerning such MSS. might be got, than Dr. David Laing of the Signet Library, but if he is still alive, which I do not know, he must be a very old man now, for when 29 years ago I made his acquaintance, he was I should think past 40 years of age, and for many years I have heard nothing from him. He was extremely well informed concerning the old poesy of his country, though he did not himself care much for ballads obtained from oral recitation. He only valued such relics as were to be found in old MSS., particularly on vellum. My learned friend and fellow professor in this university Mr. George Stephens (F. S. A., author of the magnificent work on old Northern Runic Monuments, 2 voll. large folio, Copenhagen 1866–68) mentions to me as a likely person from whom to get information, a correspondent of his, Mr. John Stuart of H. M. general Registrar office, Edinburgh. But very likely you know yourself the best sources to serve the purpose.

Now, my dear Sir, I must say a few words on your very ingenious and flattering idea of bringing me in person over the Atlantic, to address in its mother tongue the very cream of American literary Society, to interest and instruct that formidable audience on the head of old Scandinavian Language and Literature. Your idea certainly did "strike" me. At first it struck me dumb with terror and consternation. But I must confess to my extreme audacity, for recovering from the first stroke or shock, I dared to look the bold fancy boldly in the face, and then it struck me in a more genial manner. It appeared to me as no absolute impossibility that my combined patriotic and scientific feelings for the subject, calling forth all the power of mind I may possess, might to some degree succeed in the endeavor to strike you again, and to awaken among your fast-going people of the future some interest in that noble Past, in that old Nationality so kindred to your own. And such a result, if to be hoped for, would of course in every respect be an immense satisfaction to me. In the very marvellousness of the scheme I felt something enticing to a lineal descendant of the old Vikings of Denmark. The pecuniary attraction — which was by no means unknown to the old Vikings — would not by itself be able to bring me so far out of my beaten track, but into the bargain it could not in any way be objectionable. That consideration however, which — as promising the most certain fruit of such an adventurous expedition — sooner than any other might induce me to look on the thing in earnest, is the occasion it would afford me for a personal acquaintance and conference with you regarding the rare old British Ballads. If therefore such a thing should happen as such an invitation being sent to me in good time for all necessary preparations, I think that I would accept it as my destiny, and with an *Omen accipio, quod felix faustumque sit!* — try to do my very best. The language however would — contrary to what you express — be *no little* obstacle. Since almost a boy I have not been in the habit of *speaking* the language, and I should deem it necessary, not only to have such lectures fairly written down in English beforehand, but also to spend some time in English-speaking company, before venturing to address an enlightened American public in its own tongue. For this year I should not be able to accept an invitation and even if it were for the next year (October 1873) I must need know it a twelvemonth before, or I should not be able to have everything ready and be disengaged from other duties.

In the course of this year I hope to finish the 4th volume of my Danish Ballads, and then I might for some time and on important grounds postpone the continuation; but still, having to attend to my Danish lectures and other duties as a member of the university and of the Royal Academy of Sciences I could have no less time for the composition of a series of English lectures on the Old Northern Language and Literature than the first five months of 1873. The months June–August I shall have to pass in Switzerland with my wife, who for her health must go thither this autumn, to stay there for two winters with the intervening summers, in which I am to join her. Switzerland is no bad place for falling in with English and American Society, so that might in some way be used as a preparation if I were to go to America in the autumn. But stop — what do you think of an idea that just now strikes me? In that case perhaps I might go to Edinburgh, there to spend the month of September in pursuit of the Ballad MSS. That was a combined attack.

"What a courage you must have!" I hear you repeat, now perhaps adding: "And what a fanciful fellow you must be!" But the fancy you know you have put into my head, and I do not think that I am much to blame for trying to make as much as possible out of the space of time allotted to me. I am an old soldier, as you happen to know, and in that respect I am like your General Sherman that I try as long as possible to keep out of my own grave, though very unlike him, I place a great deal of interest in some old "graves of other people."

Though what is termed an old soldier, I am not, let me tell you, a very old fellow. Born 1824 I made my first step into literature 1842 with a series of translations with notes of English and Scottish Ballads. In the year 1843 I paid a visit to England, and my first work was not finished till 1846. In 1847 I published the plans for the edition of the Ballads of Denmark, the first part of which appeared 1852. In the meanwhile, at the outbreak of the Slesvic-Holstein rebellion and the Prussian assault of 1848 I entered the army as a volunteer. Soon made a lieutenant I served during the war 1848–50, after the peace I remained in the army, for the most time *à la suite* occupied in my literary pursuits, and I left the army as a Captain, when in the summer of 1863 I was called to the University as a Professor of Northern Philology. During the war 1863–64 I again made some extra military service as a commander of a battalion in Copenhagen, but since then I have served only under the banner of Minerva. Such is the brief outline of my life, which I give at your kind request together with my photograph (taken three years ago, but I don't think I am much altered since).

Now I shall be very glad to have yours, and at the same time I will be very thankful for some information concerning yourself. I long to know, how old you may be, since you are so much less sanguine than I am in drawing bills on uncome years.

Let me be sanguine then on your behalf as well as on my own, and let me express my sincere hope to see the edition of *The Popular Ballads of the English Race by Professor F. J. Child*, to be for all time to come the chief source of information on that memorable subject. And with this hope, with renewed thanks for all your kindness and with the expression of my wish for your future friendship, perhaps even your personal acquaintance, I remain,

My dear Sir, Yours faithfully,

SVEND GRUNDTVIG.

P. S. One word more, my dear Sir, let me add, for fear you might else be misled by the somewhat playful manner in which I have treated your project concerning the Lowell lectures. I am not a giddy or lightminded person at heart. It would indeed be a very serious matter to me, and it is very far from being indifferent to me, *how* such a thing was brought about. The word I must add is this: *Do not, I pray you, put or push the question as a personal one!* You may make the proposal, if you think proper, of "Old Northern Language and Literature" as the theme for one of the courses, but let this be the principal point, left to the decision of the party concerned. If the idea should find approbation in the right quarter, *then* I own that I think the choice of my person to be a natural sequel, and then I would take it very earnestly indeed, as a call to be conscientiously obeyed. I am sure, my dear Sir, that *you* would look on the matter in this light; but I thought it necessary to prevent any misapprehension with regard to *my* feelings on the subject.

CAMBRIDGE, Aug. 25, 1872.

TO PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

I have been putting off writing in the hope of getting something definite to communicate. I have had one letter from Scotland, with no sort of light on the Herd and Brown manuscripts, and I have since written to Mr. Laing and to Mr. Stuart. The publisher who, as I told you, was disposed to undertake the work, has not yet bound himself to anything. He is in England, and I have written to him a succinct statement of what I propose, that he may consult with some English publisher. I have no fear about the result. — I owe you a great many thanks for your last letter, which makes me feel acquainted with you as a man. For myself, there is hardly enough in my life to fill half a dozen lines in the most liberal biographical dictionary. I am apparently one year younger than you, measuring by dates, but measuring by the essential standard of power to effect, you are very much my junior — while by the other standard — of the amount effected — you are again prodigiously my senior. I have passed all my life at this college, where existence is not so favorable as it might be to literary or scientific productiveness. I do not value anything that I have done at a pin's fee, as our common friend Hamlet says. All the more do I feel a desire to do something now which shall be useful in its way, whether very creditable to me or not. I wish I could tell you that I too have been a soldier, for there is nothing which I ever so much desired to do as to offer my life in our great war, and lay it down if needed. A long and most painful sickness of my wife prevented, and though I could not help myself, I still feel a thrill of shame. I shall send you a photograph recently taken, which is as good as any that I shall ever have. — With regard to the Lowell lectures, I have strong hopes that that pleasant little scheme of mine will be realized. Mr. Lowell was very glad of the suggestion. He said that he would look over his list of lecturers already engaged, and if he found that he had not already asked too many, would write to you. He is an old man, of very few words, and very much averse to writing. So I know that he will not write to *me*, and I shall hear of his action only through you, — unless I chance to fall in with him. It may be that he will have no vacancy till later than the time I mentioned — Oct. 1873. Your coming would be a great event to us Cambridge people, and most of all to me. You would not need to take extraordinary pains with the lectures. You could make them popular, or the reverse, as you were pleased. The audience is not a scientific one, and is not usually very large — for the lectures have been established many years, and a vast number of subjects have been treated, so that they are less resorted to: but you would have a few judicious hearers, who would appreciate your learning and ability. The Eddas, the Sagas, and the Ballads would furnish a rich and interesting theme, whichever part of the audience you had in view. You would be with me and we could discuss many things which we could not go into in letters. The advantage for me would be incalculable. — I wish you were here just now, that I might have your opinion on two points which give me a great deal of trouble. One is the compass and the other the arrangement of the collection. The English and Scotch Ballads will not compare with the Danish in point of age. I cannot say exactly what limit you fix to *Gamle*[1] *Folkeviser*. We cannot of course exclude all ballads which have not been taken from the mouths of the people — nor perhaps include all such. The oldest

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[1] Child underlines the word *Gamle* (*old*) to indicate his special interest here in the age of the Danish popular ballads.

Robin Hood ballads are derived from MS., and very many others of the best and oldest, and on the other hand some ballads written in comparatively recent times, especially historical ones, are found in the mouths of the people. The immense collections of Broadside ballads, the Roxburghe and Pepys, of which but a small part has been printed, doubtless contain some ballads which we should at once declare to possess the popular character, and yet on the whole they are veritable dung-hills, in which, only after a great deal of sickening grubbing, one finds a very moderate jewel. Some of the later Robin Hood ballads I have scarcely patience or stomach to read: but the declension is so gradual from the freshest and raciest to the thoroughly *vulgar*, (by which I mean always the *essentially* vulgar, the absolutely mean and stupid) that it will be very hard, and to me at this moment looks impossible, to draw a line. It is not easy always to distinguish a ballad and what we should call a short romance. Is *Arthur and the King of Cornwall* a ballad? *The Horn of King Arthur* I incline to exclude, and yet I fear that my reasons are vague. Of all the chivalrous ballads I should, as now minded, retain only *The Boy and the Mantle*, *The Marriage of Gawain*, and perhaps *Arthur and the King of Cornwall.* Is same to be said in behalf of *King Arthur's Death?* [1] What should I do about the *Suffolk Miracle?* (all these in vol. I). *The Outlaw Murray* and *Auld Maitland*,[1] in vol. vi., try me sorely. I wish I could rid myself of them. It is a pity one can't consistently insist on the lyrical, or singable, character as a criterion. That makes order in the Appendix to vol. vii,[2] Historical Ballads, very sensibly. They are the very ones, the historical ballads, that I shall have most trouble with. — As to arrangement a very good German review spoke in terms of strong disapprobation of the one I made. I never pretended that the arrangement was founded on a deeper principle than convenience. Some sort of classification everybody expects. Outlaw ballads separate themselves pretty well — but shall I put *Johnie of Breadislee* and *Johnie Cock* with Robin Hood — or with the later Scotch outlaws, Johnie Armstrong and the rest? *Tragica*,[3] from the use of the title in Danish and Romaic, shows, as the least consideration makes obvious of itself, how natural such a division is. Many of the oldest ballads would in any language come under that head. I cannot imitate *your* division, the matter being so different. My *Trylleviser* [4] will make a natural class, and I have no doubt that this class should come first. But what to put second I wot not — for even if I retain the division I have made, I think that the earliest ballads under several heads are practically *coeval.* I do not quite see where you mean to put, say, the *Tragica* that have no *Trylleri*[1] in them, and no history, or Humorous ballads like *King John and the Abbot.* — I am in no haste to settle this question for a year, but as I find the same difficulty now that troubled me twelve years ago, I don't expect to come to an altogether happy solution. — I shall have no appendixes. They seem adapted merely to disarm the objections of people who might complain that the mass was too great for anybody to pick out the really good. That first collection it was important to make tolerably saleable. I shall make no concession to such a consideration in the one which I hope to make.

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[1] In the notes accompanying his letter of January 29, 1880, Grundtvig proposed that Child place *King Arthur's Death* and *Auld Maitland* among the imitations in the suggested Fourth Class. See the notes to that letter, p. 285. For Child's disposition of the other ballads mentioned in this letter, see the various indexes to the *E. S. P. B.*

[2] Vol. VII of Child's *English and Scottish Ballads.*

[3] Child refers here to a collection of Danish ballads published in 1657 under the designation *Tragica.*

[4] Ballads of magic and marvel; Grundtvig had a division of *trylleviser* in his *DgF.*

I shall esteem it an act of true friendship if you will speak with the utmost plainness concerning any matter in which you think I am wrong or likely to go wrong.

As it is very uncertain when, if ever, we shall secure Herd's, Jamieson's, and Mrs. Brown's manuscripts,[2] and as it is most desirable to get at them, I shall occupy myself at present with reading up the ballads of other nations, and I will begin with the South, where to be sure I shall not find very much. First I will run through the Spanish and Portuguese. Your help will save me a great deal of labor with the Scandinavians. I shall not esteem it necessary to search in any place where *you* have passed and shall probably not read more than you point out to me. I have indeed a desire to survey the whole field minutely with my own eye, but I have not confidence enough in my health lasting long enough to finish the work if I do. — I don't read Finnish. Perhaps you do. I might write to Prof. Ahlquist[3] of Helsingfors, to ask for such hints as he might be able to give. I wish Felix Liebrecht[4] would give me a note or two, and still more that some man who knows the Slavic[5] field well might be got to help us.

I mean to try to see if anything can be done in Scotland towards retrieving such ballads as may be left with the people. But we must not wait for such things, nor for the missing manuscripts. Set down, when you feel like it, all that you think important of all kinds, about our ballads and we will bring things into order by and by. Criticise my proceedings *like an enemy.*

I trust you are enjoying Switzerland, and that your object in transporting thither *animae dimidium tuae* will be fully attained. I have been kept in doors by the *gout* for a week — gout at 47 — a bad outlook.

Receive my warmest thanks for all your friendly help, counsel, and sympathy, and believe me faithfully yours always,

F. J. CHILD.

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[1] Magic, enchantment.

[2] On these manuscripts, see Child's letters of July 1 and October 3, 1873, and May 8, 1874.

[3] August Ahlquist (1826–89), author of various works on the Finnish language and related subjects.

[4] Felix Liebrecht later was one of Child's correspondents. For a review by him of Pts. I–IV of *E. S. P. B.*, see *Englische Studien*, IX, 445–448.

[5] Among those who subsequently assisted Child in the Slavic field were Theodor Vetter and Professor Leo Wiener.

HARVARD COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE,
June 14, 1873.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

Mr. Boyesen,[1] a young Norwegian, whom we think well of here, informs me that he intends to be in Copenhagen in August, and I seize this opportunity to ask him to call on you, and assure you that he has seen me in the flesh, and that I am now very eager to receive your valuable and indispensable help. I shall indeed write to you long before Mr. Boyesen can reach Copenhagen, but he would consider it a great privilege to make your acquaintance, and can tell you something about America which you may be interested in knowing. Commending my friend to your kindness, I am, with highest regard your faithful servant ever,

F. J. CHILD.

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG, COPENHAGEN.

HARVARD COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
July 1, 1873.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

I want very much to hear from you. It is nearly a year, if I remember, since I reported progress, or no progress, in my Ballad labors. I became unexpectedly involved in college work, after my recovery from sickness last November (of which it is possible that I have informed you) and saw with mortification months go by without any results. What I have done is this. I have endeavored by a considerable amount of correspondence — , and by the circulation throughout Scotland of an "Appeal,"[2] two thousand copies of which were dispersed, so that every clergyman and schoolmaster in the country was reached, both to ascertain how much is left of traditional ballads in the memory of the people, and to get, whatever there is, collected. Several gentlemen have taken a warm interest in the matter and some have pushed their inquiries very zealously. The fruits, however, are small. I have not received *one* ballad that has not before been printed, and the copies taken down from recitation are in general much inferior to those that have already been printed. I have a manuscript used by Jamieson, which will enable me to restore some original readings — but Jamieson was faithful to his texts, comparatively. I could not get possession of Herd's MS. or even hear anything about it, and Sir Walter Scott's manuscripts[3] are practically unattainable even if they are still preserved. I have had a loan of one other MS. of very small value and have heard of one or two more, but the efforts of my English friends, so far, have not obtained them for me. Buchan's papers are now in the British Museum, and I can have copies made. But I must give you *one* proof that old Buchan was a *cheat*. Dr. John Hill Burton[1] testifies that a part of the ballad called *Chil Ether* was drafted by a friend at his bedside when he was recovering from an illness and was sent to Buchan, with the intention of taking the measure of his honesty. Peter was so happy as to be able to supply all that was missing *from the recollections of the peasantry*.[2] — I had reason to believe in Buchan's dishonesty before, but I wanted explicit proof. The ballad in question almost anyone would pronounce a forgery, but still I put it into my collection, with only a general *caveat* in the preface.[3] It will be hard to sift Buchan's rubbish.

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[1] Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen (1848–95), later a professor at Columbia University; author of *Essays on Scandinavian Literature* and other works.

[2] The Appeal was printed in *Notes and Queries*, January 4, 1873. In it Child asks particularly for information as to the manuscripts of David Herd and of Mrs. Brown.

[3] Child eventually made much use of the Scott manuscripts. Many letters on the subject, mostly from William Macmath, may be found in vol. X of the Child

I should now be very glad to receive all your notes on our Ballads whenever you can prepare them. I am not certain just now when I shall begin to *print*. I shall be reluctant to begin until I have got most of the matter ready. The question of arrangement puzzles me exceedingly. There is not a sufficient criterion for me to make an unexceptionable division. I might make three divisions of earliest — later — and recent: but of course they would be called arbitrary, and would be so in some degree. I should have to separate a great mass of the Robin Hood ballads from the few really early ones. This is what I shall probably do, however. I shall be very glad to have your opinion.

The death of your venerable and admirable father may very likely have called your attention entirely from this matter. I remember also that you referred to your wife's health in a way that showed it to be delicate. I trust that you have had no new concern about her.

Of Mr. Lowell and my cherished project of having you come over to us I have nothing new to say. He is an odd man, and one whom I do not wish to approach again. Indeed I perfectly understood that you would very much object to my doing more than suggest that if such a course of lectures were *wanted*, you might be willing to give them. I fear now that he will invite you at some time not convenient to you.

I shall have two good months to work on my ballads during the summer and hope to make considerable progress. You may most likely be away

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MSS. In vol. X and vol. XI of the Child MSS will be found grouped numerous items of correspondence relating to the various ballad manuscripts used by Child.

[1] Child later employed a MS of John Hill Burton's.

[2] Norval Clyne was probably Child's immediate informant in this matter. At any rate, a letter from Clyne to Child, of date February, 1873, is extant, in which Clyne gives the Buchan story, quoting J. H. Burton directly as his source; the letter from Clyne is preserved in the Child MSS, I, 82–83.

[3] Child printed Buchan's text of *Chil Ether* in both the first and the second editions of his *English and Scottish Ballads*, IV, 299. His source is there given as Buchan's *Ballads of the North of Scotland*, II, 228.

from Copenhagen when this arrives. I shall be very glad to hear from you as soon as you find it convenient to write.

I remain, with best regards,

Ever yours faithfully,

F. J. CHILD.

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

HARVARD COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE,
Oct. 3, 1873.

TO PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

I am becoming very anxious to hear from you. You will be a little surprised, perhaps, to learn that I have been as near to you as England. My wife took a sudden alarm about my health, and despatched me to England, with something of the same expedition as Hamlet the Dane was sent by his uncle-father and aunt-mother. I had eight weeks in England and Scotland, and did all I could to forward my ballad-work. The result is this. — I have found Herd's two MSS. (much desired) in the British Museum; also Buchan's MSS. — two volumes. I have had a large MS. of Motherwell's, containing apparently *all* that he ever collected, in my hands for some days and expect to have a complete copy soon. One of Jamieson's MSS. I have had for some months. I have also bought the last MS. collection (probably) that ever will be made, of a Scotch lady — and hope that the Museum will take it off my hands. It is not of great value. I am trying to get the permission to copy one or two other MSS. — all that remains of those that are known to exist. How poor we are in such things, compared with you!

So, you see, I have accomplished something. But what is best, I have now some little time at my command, and I shall give every moment to the ballads.

I hope that you continue well, and that I may count upon your invaluable, and almost indispensable, aid.

Please let me have a word soon.

I remain yours ever faithfully,

F. J. CHILD.

Copenhagen, March 25, 1874.[1]

Professor F. J. Child,
Harvard College,
Cambridge, Mass.

My dear Sir,

Very likely you have given me up for lost, by death or by desertion, long ago. And very possibly also, before giving me up altogether in despair, you have been not a little angry with me. And you have had only too good reason to be so. However, I think that on the other hand I may be in some way if not justified, at least excused, for my immense want of punctuality. By circumstances over which I have had no control I have been blocked up and hindered for a long time to be of any service to you. All the while I have felt myself bound by honor to do for you what I could, and what I had promised. But I *would* not answer to your letters with new empty promises only. I *would* send you something at the same time, perhaps of but little value to you, perhaps even being too late — but *that* I could not help — , I would send you at all events some proof of my good intention, something that cost me time and labor, to show my earnest wish to be useful to you and to the work, which I had some part in making you undertake for a second time. If indeed I have stimulated you to take that work on your hands, I claim some merit for *that* at all events. But it was not my intention to claim any merit at all. I was not going to praise myself, but I was going to confess my sins, and to do what penance I could, to plead guilty, and to place my only hope for absolution in your grace and forbearance.

I have in due time received your several letters of Aug. 25/72, and of July 1 and Oct. 3/73. I am guilty in that, and in not having answered any of them, till now. The first of these letters could not yet tell, whether the plan was to be executed or not. The second letter, which reached me in Switzerland, told me, that you were *at it*, but it did not contain that which I had expected as the foundation for my remarks, viz. a *plan*, and a *list of contents*, only some doubts as to the compass and to the arrangement of the work. The third letter entreated me to make haste. I have done what I could since then.

In your second letter you rightly guessed that the death of my venerable father in September 1872 had thrown a great deal of work on my hands. It fell to me to arrange his papers and manuscripts, and to prepare new editions of his numerous works.[2] Besides, another indispensable task to a great extent occupied me during the winter 1872–73 and a great part of the ensuing year, a new edition of the *Sæmundar Edda*,[1] of which I have had the pleasure some time ago to send you a copy. Three months of the last summer were spent with my wife in Switzerland, whither she had repaired for the sake of her health the previous autumn. She still remains there, only a little better than when she went away from home. I am to go and fetch her home this summer. I had some hopes of being able to do some work for you during my summer's stay at Montreux last year, and to that purpose I brought with me a whole library of English and other Ballad Books and a great deal of written materials, but it proved impossible to get more work done than reading the proof sheets of my *Edda* and of my father's Hymns, three volumes of which were published in December last. Since my return in September I have had to attend to my university duties and to finish my *Edda*. But besides that I have done nothing but trying to be useful to you, wholly putting aside my favorite work on the Ballads of Denmark, till I had gone through the whole of the English Ballad Literature placed within my reach, and till I had made up the 1st series of remarks which I have the honor to forward to you together with these lines.

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[1] I have not found this letter among the Child MSS. It is given here from a photographic copy of Grundtvig's own draft as preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection of the Royal Library at Copenhagen.

[2] A relatively full account of N. F. S. Grundtvig's life (1783–1872) and works may be found in Bricka's *Dansk biografisk Lexicon*; there also is a sketch of the life of Svend Grundtvig, from the hand of Professor J. C. H. R. Steenstrup.

It is much less than what I had intended, but now I will put it off no longer, as before I proceed, I must know whether it is of any use to you now, or whether perhaps it is too late for the purpose.

What I send this time only regards the general outlines of the work, the compass of it, the decision of the first question: which ballads are to be taken, and which so-called "ballads" are to be rejected.[2] As to the arrangement, since you have not given me any plan to criticise, I had intended to make up and subject to your judgment the complete proposals for the order of the contents. But I will not postpone the sending off of what I have got ready by this time, till I could have finished such a work, which would require a good deal of time. And besides, you are no doubt in the possession of some materials that I have not, so my list of contents could not be complete. In fact I do not think that the question of arrangement is of any great weight or consequence. The chief point is that the edition contains every bit of genuine ballad lore, and consequently all that *may be* genuine, and I might say, also all that *has been so*. As to the order and arrangement, it is all very well, if each class of ballads is kept together, and every separate ballad with all its variations stands by itself. Whether a certain class of ballads forms the third or the fifth part of the edition, is of very little consequence.

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[1] The first edition of Grundtvig's *Edda* was published in 1868; the new edition here referred to appeared in 1874.

[2] With this letter Grundtvig sent detailed remarks on which ballads in Child's edition of 1860 ought to be omitted from the proposed collection, and suggestions as to ballads, omitted from the edition of 1860, which ought to be included in the new work. Among the last are items from *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*. Portions of the comments on the edition of 1860 are still to be found among the Child MSS, vol. IX. Grundtvig's draft of the letter and of the accompanying remarks is still extant in the Dansk Folkemindesamling (*DFS 69*) of the Royal Library at Copenhagen.

You may conceive how glad I have been to learn the happy results of your deep and conscientious and truly scientific researches, so that you are now in possession of a most valuable material for the control of many previous editions. (What a pity that no certainty is to be got at with regard to the *Border Minstrelsy!*) The Herd, Jamieson, Motherwell, Buchan and other manuscripts will no doubt enable you to lend to your new edition quite a new and unknown character of authority. The gleanings of recent Scottish tradition, which have been the results of your direct "Appeal" (by the by, you must let me have a copy of that) also must throw some light on the real state of things. The Buchan papers must have come into the possession of the British Museum but very lately; for according to the *Notes and Queries*, March 24, 1873, they were then in the hands of Charles Mackay the poet. Naturally I am very anxious to learn what you have found in the manuscripts, and also the impression (or the proofs) you have got, as to the trustworthiness (or untrustworthiness) of the editors, for instance, Peter Buchan.[1]

Now I shall not try your patience much longer by this time, as I expect soon to hear from you, and to know whether you want me to proceed.

The second series of remarks should — if required — enter upon the details, and be devoted to the special parts of the work. I intend to give my remarks on each ballad separately, together with all the illustration I may think to be of any consequence to you, from Scandinavian and other sources. The most practical manner will be, that you give me *a list of contents* of the whole work, that I may send in my remarks in the same order. At first you only need send me the contents and the order of *the first class* (no doubt the tales of wonder). I wish that in the edition you would give every ballad its number, and also the different versions, and even the verses (stanzas), as in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, an immense facility for exact quotation.

With regard to the "Remarks" only this. I need not ask your pardon for having made lots of remarks which to you must seem very trivial. At the worst they will do no harm, and sometimes they may perhaps even be welcome, as confirming the judgment already formed by yourself. But I must beg your pardon for *the language* in which they have been given. I have thought it easier to you to have my remarks in *some sort of English*, rather than in my own tongue, but I have *written* everything (not *read* or *thought*, I hope) in a great haste, and consequently caught the very first words that offered themselves, if only I might hope they would convey my meaning to you. I know, it is all perfectly barbarous. Never mind that, but ever believe me your faithful servant,

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[1] With this letter Grundtvig sent a long series of comments on individual numbers of Buchan's *Ancient Ballads and Songs;* portions of the comments are preserved among the Child papers. Designed by Grundtvig as an aid to Child in selecting appropriate materials from Buchan's collection, the remarks are in general favorable to the Scottish editor; and they are supported by a number of copies of entire Scandinavian ballads cited by Grundtvig as parallels to pieces printed by Buchan. Cf. Grundtvig's first letter, in which he declares that he is able to prove the material authenticity of many of Buchan's ballads through comparisons with accepted Scandinavian texts. — To illustrate the tenor of Grundtvig's criticism, the following comment on Buchan's *Lady Isabel* will serve, "I will take my oath on it, that Mr. Peter Buchan has no more forged that ballad himself than he has been to the moon and back again."

Svend Grundtvig

Cambridge, May 8, 1874.

To Professor Svend Grundtvig,
Copenhagen.

My dear Professor,

I was extremely glad to get your letter of March 25. It has been attentively read and considered. Even after all the time that has gone since we began a correspondence on the subject of the English Ballads, I am still far from ready to print. I have been occupied, so far as I have been at liberty to occupy myself with this business, in the search of materials. The work would have gone on faster had I been in good health: but though not unable to work, I have been a large part of the time in a state of languor and low spirits which has much impeded progress. It was this which drove me to Europe last year, and probably I shall have to cross the sea again this year for the same reason. If I do, I promise myself the pleasure of meeting you. A good long talk (at Montreux, or wherever in Switzerland you may be) would save us both a great deal of writing. — First let me say that the collection of ballads which I made more than a dozen years ago was made as a part of a collection of English Poetry, and that I felt obliged to include everything that the English had been accustomed to call *Ballad*, at least in specimens. It is true that I might have separated the proper *Volksballade* from the others: and I wish that I had done so. But I was in great haste, being driven on by the publishers, who wished to finish their collection of 125 vols. within two or three years! and I did not take time enough for deliberation. When I saw *your Danske Folkeviser*, quite late, I wished I could have had it for a model from the beginning, and I determined, if I ever saw the way to another edition, to make your work my pattern. I neither have seen nor can I conceive of anything more perfect.

No sooner had I printed my hastily gathered eight volumes than I set to work to have the Percy MS. printed, without which no edition of the ballads could be attempted. In this I succeeded. My good friend Furnivall had for some time tried in vain to get hold of this precious book. He did all the work, and incurred a loss of about £400, which I hope some day to see made up to him! Next I suggested the forming of a Ballad Society for the collecting and printing of all such remains of popular ballads as could be found in the memory of the people or in manuscripts. Furnivall could find no manuscripts of genuine ballads and accordingly plunged into the Roxburghe broadsides. That was discouraging. I then took to correspondence and to *Notes and Queries*, and obtained, first, Jamieson's MS., then Motherwell's entire collection, then Herd's and Buchan's (both in the Museum now, where the Percy also is) then a small and not very valuable manuscript of unprinted ballads from a Scotch lady (who made me pay £15). Mr. Kinloch, our ablest of all the collectors you know, has consented to let me have a copy of all his unprinted collections. *Abbotsford* alone has given me trouble. There is not much there. I was at the place last August, but could see nothing. Mr. Hope Scott had died and left one daughter, not then of age. If I could have remained in Europe until October, when the crowd of visitors subsided, I could have inspected all the ballad-books that there are there, and then I should know better how to place my siege-train and storm the house. But now I have to trust to such indications as I find in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, for the proprietor and her trustees appear not to know a ballad from a catechism. My excellent friend, Mr. Laing of Edinburgh, who, though 80 years old, is full of vigor, has been my mediator, and Mr. Thomas Carlyle my advocate. I have succeeded in getting copies of more ballads (from Mrs. Brown's recitation, and therefore the same as Jamieson's, and as the lost ballads which Tytler lent Scott) but as yet no permission to print them. Tytler's manuscripts elude me, and the Glenriddell MS. of *Border* ballads. — The circular which I spoke of to you, and which I sent to every clergyman and schoolmaster in Scotland (or to nearly 2500 of them) produced almost *nothing*. I received a few copies of the better ballads, half a dozen, from one place or another: but I fear that all of them are recollections of *modern print*, a most undesirable aftergrowth of oral tradition. Still I am glad that I have attempted to plough the field. I am by no means sure that something valuable may not still exist somewhere. So *stolid*, absolutely stolid, do people seem, at least to us who are keenly interested, that something more than a printed appeal is necessary to move them to the thought whether they have what is wanted or not. I found by the merest accident that Herd's MSS. were [1] in the Museum — though I had advertised for it in *Notes and Queries*, in circulars, and in Scotch newspapers. I was looking for Buchan's and chanced to say to the underkeeper, if *I could find Herd, I should be more than happy*. "Herd? Herd?" said he: — "I think we have Herd — I think we have two manuscripts of H."; and so they had. — So much of the materials. Now as for my plan. I have always intended that any edition that I might attempt should be a *critical* edition of the *popular* ballads, and I have always intended to follow your *system* (to the extent of my power) than which I cannot imagine anything better. The ballads which you mark to be excluded [2] I had no question about; at least not about more than one or two: nor had I any question about those few ballads which I *omitted* because of their subjects. When I come to Buchan, I am in difficulty. I must confess that my treatment of his ballads both seems and *was* capricious. My conviction is that Buchan was determined to have a version of his own of all the more important Scottish ballads, and that his process was, as Sheridan says of plagiarists, *to disfigure them*, as gypsies do stolen children, to make them pass for their own. But all that I can prove is that he *completed* one ballad (*Chil Ether*) of which a fragment written for the purpose, had been given him. I have written to Dr. Hill Burton for all the evidence that he has upon the subject of Buchan's forgeries. His deviations from all other versions are very remarkable, not merely in their range, but in their kind, and they are all of one sort. They exhibit an *artificial* vulgarity, it seems to me, and as I have said, there is no variety to this, which makes me fear that it comes from a man and not from a class of people. How is it that Kinloch's ballads, which were also gathered in the North of Scotland, and which are given without the slightest editorial interference, show nothing of the kind? The vulgarity that I mean consists in a tame, mean, unreal style of *expression*, far from *volksmässig*. I do not find this in any other ballads. — Now it is a very serious question what to do with Buchan. His copies are so different from *all* others that collation is out of the question. I shall have to give the whole of his two volumes, or nearly. At present I am disposed to put his ballads always in a smaller type. I do not believe that he ever forged a complete ballad. He had not wit enough for that. I think he may have spoiled a good many that came from the people in some shape, and have falsified some of the printed texts with interpretations and additions. (Most of his ballads are very long). His alterations are not so easy to swear to as Bishop Percy's or Scott's. Concerning Scott's treatment of his texts I cannot speak positively yet. Some of the ballads derived from Mrs. Brown do not agree with the texts in Jamieson's MS. but Mrs. Brown recited her ballads at intervals, and the recitals are said to vary, which is not strange. Jamieson changes a little.

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[1] There are two — but the second contains only copies, verbatim, of ballads that occur in the other. [Child's note.]

[2] Among the items Grundtvig had marked, in his letter of March 25, 1874, for exclusion were *Gernutus the Jew*, *The Gaberlunzie Man*, *The Turnament of Tottenham*,

I do not know that I shall have a single *new* ballad besides the one that you gave me from the Bodleian garland. But I am not sure. The versions of many of the most important ballads will be numerous. — (It is excessively vexatious to me that Percy should have torn out *King Estmere* to use for printing. What do you think of the Buchan variety of *that* ballad?) But I may find a few new ones in some of Mr. Kinloch's three manuscripts — which have not yet come to hand.

Nearly all the books of which you were so good as to give me a list are in my possession already, and of *Southern* ballads even more.

The Wife of Auchtermuchty, *The Dragon of Wantley*, *The Wanton Wife of Bath* ("that immoral and irreligious piece"), *Whittington's Advancement* ("vulgar stuff, quite out of the question"), and the *Taming of a Shrew* ("a very vulgar and debased form of an old story, that never was treated in a genuine ballad"); all these from vol. VIII of the *English and Scottish Ballads*, 1860; Grundtvig, as before noted, had the London issue of 1861.

I think you can form an entirely correct idea of the ballads which I mean to insert. But as to the grouping I cannot determine what to do. To read the articles in the *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, the grouping would seem a matter equally important and easy. But I do not find it so. The division into Romantic, Historical and *Humorous* does not suit me. I do not think that there is much reason for separating *Border* ballads from Historical, or Humorous. I do not quite see the ground of *your* division into *Kæmpeviser*, *Trylleviser*, *Historiske viser*, *Ridderviser.*[1] I have no *Kæmpeviser* and scarcely any *Ridderviser*. If I keep *Trylleviser* separate, some *Jahrbuch* man will say that *Love* is the more important element and challenge that division.

June 19.

I was interrupted on May 8 and the consequence has been that my letter has remained unfinished. I trust that I shall have made you completely comfortable on the score of your being late in answering *my* letters, and I beg you to consider this delay as a most adroit piece of courtesy!

But let me say that I received with very great pleasure your *Edda*, some time before the arrival of your letter, and that I have received the supplement remarks on the *versteilung*. It was nothing so dignified as an *Edda* that interrupted my letter, but a multitude of petty things not worth recounting.

In a week's time I take the steamer for Liverpool and by the middle of July I expect to be in Switzerland. Should you be at Montreux, I shall come to see you and we will have a few hours' talk on the whole subject of your letter. When I wrote before, I imagined myself to be in haste: for I did not know then what treasures I was to find. I have been inclined to delay rather than to hasten—I was then—in the hope that more were to be found: but now I believe that when I get Mr. Kinloch's MSS. I shall have all the materials which I am to look for.

I should like very much to discuss with you the question of arrangement.

As soon as I shall have returned from Europe, I will go to work systematically. I shall then be glad to have anything that you can give me for I have never had a word from you that was not valuable. The indication of the Danish ballads which are akin to English in the *unprinted* part of your collection would of course be indispensable. But I observe that nothing escapes your eye, and I am by no means so sure of that in my own case. I shall always be glad to be saved from overlooking things germane to any matters, which have been printed, by a hint from you: especially in the Scandinavian languages. I have, so far as I know, all the collections, but doubtless there is not a little in periodicals of one sort or another which I have not seen. I am very sorry to be obliged to own that I am conscious of a diminished energy, resulting from bad health, which is not favorable to that *extensive sweep* of a subject which your books everywhere show. — The rest I will postpone for a few weeks. Should you expect to be in Montreux, a single line sent to the care of Messrs. Brown, Shipley & Co., Lothbury, London, E. C. would afford me a ready clue to your whereabouts. Always, my dear Professor, Your warm friend and admirer,

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[1] *Kæmpeviser:* heroic ballads; *trylleviser:* ballads of magic and marvel; *historiske viser:* historical ballads; *ridderviser:* ballads of chivalry and romance.

F. J. CHILD.

WILDBAD, WÜRTTEMBERG.
9th July, 1874.

PROFESSOR F. J. CHILD.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your long and very interesting letter reached me here but yesterday. So I make haste and write you these lines, in the hope that they will find you during your stay in England. Here I am, and here I shall stay till the end of this month, or perhaps a few days longer while my poor wife tries to get some benefit from the celebrated baths of Wildbad, before returning to her own country.

It would indeed be of the very greatest interest to me personally, and I trust also to the Ballad work, if we were to meet in person. I need not say how delighted I should be, and how very sorry to have lost the opportunity by not being at Montreux at the time of your stay there. I left Montreux only five weeks ago, and shall not return. Very sorry I am to understand that you feel yourself in no satisfactory state of health, and most sincerely do I hope that this summer's trip will bring you again in the full vigour of body and mind, that you may be ready for your noble winter's task, the publication of the revised Ballad Edition, now that all possible materials have been placed at your command.

I wish you had given me a more detailed prospectus, a sort of skeleton of the work, so that I might write down my remarks in the same order as they are to be used.

However much interested in making your personal acquaintance, and however desirous to have a quiet talk with you on these matters, that are of so great a consequence to both of us, I cannot think of interfering with the plan you have formed, or which has been prescribed for you, in order to regain the strength and vigour, which you feel rather failing at the present moment; and neither can I stir from this place, but must necessarily stay with my wife, till I have brought her home, I suppose about the 1st of September.

Now at all events I expect to have a few lines from you, telling me of your intentions, and above all: whether it will suit you to pay a visit to this beautiful and wholesome place of resort during my stay here. My address is *Wildbad*, *poste restante*, or if you will: "Kapellmeister Ritter."

During a visit to Interlaken in Switzerland, on the road from Montreux, I had the pleasure a fortnight ago to meet a personal acquaintance and a countryman of yours, Mr. R. F. Leighton, who spoke of you in very high terms, just as I would have supposed. I met Mr. L. at the "English Pension," a very nice quiet little home-like place, where we both lived some days together, and in the same house I happened to find a volume, that I did not know before, but which was of no little interest to me, viz. *The Poetical Works of W^m Motherwell* with a memoir of his life. (Boston, Ticknor etc. 1865). That which interested me more than anything else in that volume was a very remarkable letter of the 3^{rd} May, 1825, from Sir Walter Scott — I have not seen it before, I am sure; though I wonder very much, that Motherwell did not print it in his Introduction to his *Minstrelsy* — in which he expresses the very soundest principles with regard to Ballad-editing which it is a great pity he did not follow himself in his *Border Minstrelsy* — but the principles were of a later date than that work. You will find the letter page xxvii–ix,[1] and there Sir Walter says as follows: "In fact I think I did wrong myself, in endeavoring to make the best possible set of an ancient ballad out of several copies obtained from different quarters, and that, in many respects, if I improved the poetry, I spoiled the simplicity of the old song" etc. etc. A very remarkable letter, quite agreeing with the principles, I had found out and worked upon, without knowing that I had such an authority to fall back upon; and in fact that same authority was quoted *against* me when first (in the year 1847) I set forth my principles, and with some reason, for his doing was very unlike these later words of his. You know the whole letter, I dare say; if not, you must read it — and use it.

Now, my dear Sir, I wish that this may reach you soon, and that I soon after may get some lines from you, and favorable reports of your health, and perhaps even a hint of some possibility of seeing you this summer.

I ever remain, my dear Sir, Yours

Sincerely,

SVEND GRUNDTVIG.

CHAMONIX, Aug. 10, 1874.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

Your Wildbad letter I received five days ago. In consequence of continual change of place, I was unable to give a sure address to the London bankers: so my reply, which is written before breakfast, of a very cold morning, and yet in haste, because my friends have some excursion before them, will come strangely late. — I am exceedingly disappointed at your having left Montreux. You went away weeks before I sailed from America, and no haste of mine would have helped me. But had I known that you were to be at Wildbad, it would have been possible for me — perhaps — to have had my much desired day with you before joining my friends in Switzerland: and so it might be possible for me to leave them, and seek you out even now if I knew where you were. It would appear from your letter that you must have left W. and be going north. I can communicate with you only by the circuitous medium of London (Brown, Shipley and Co.: Lothbury, London, E. C.) and I cannot hope that you would be within my reach, after you receive this letter. Still, if it comes in time I should be glad to know where you are: I mean if it comes before you get very far north.

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[1] Scott's letter may be found in M'Conechy's edition of the *Poetical Works* of Motherwell, pp. xvii–xix.

I regret very much to be obliged to infer from your letter that your wife's health has not improved.

I must try to get my ideas into order and give you some definite notion of the plan I mean to follow. It was one of the objects I had in desiring a meeting, that I might talk over just that point of arrangement, which still puzzles me. Another was the *criterion* of a popular ballad, the distinction between ballad and tale, *fabliau*, and between genuine national or people's ballads and all varieties of base kind. I think the distinction easier to feel than to formulate. I should like to have you try to express the more subtle characteristics of an old popular ballad in words.

I am very well now and am capable of nine or ten hours' walk on a mountain without the least fatigue. I shall have, I think and hope, no excuse or impediment when I go home (which will be in October) but I thought the same last year.

I have not *given up* the hope of a meeting, though I do not see my way to it. I am not at all sure that this letter will reach you in a normally short time, or that I shall get your answer seasonably. Nevertheless I will beg you simply to note down where you are to be for the rest of this month, that, if practical, I may come and see you.

More by and by. I can't tell you how much I regret your having left Montreux. I had laid my plans for "one crowded *day* of glorious life." With a thousand thanks for your letter, ever yours faithfully,

F. J. Child

Professor Svend Grundtvig.

London, 25 Sept., 1874.

My dear Professor,

I fear that a letter which I wrote from Montigny, immediately after receiving yours from Wildbad, has never reached you. I sent it to the care of the *Kapellmeister* Ritter (I think that was the address you gave) and trusted to their forwarding the letter to you. This was my only means of communicating with you, for your letter came to me *very late*, partly in consequence of my having no fixed address for several weeks. You had left Wildbad — according to my calculations — or would have gone before my letter could get there. Had I possessed any clue, I should have telegraphed or written for another address, and should have allowed no slight obstacle to stand in the way of a meeting so desired by me and so important. I wish I had had the enterprise to go to Copenhagen, which was physically possible, and would have obtained the great advantage of a conference with you.

I must now leave England in a few days. When I have returned to Cambridge, I shall address myself seriously to work, and I will try to send you very soon some sort of scheme for the ballads. The question of arrangement, as I said in the other letter, is a difficult and unpleasant one to me, but must not be permitted to block my proceeding.

I have neither heard of nor found anything of importance since I have come here.

Hoping that you were able to bring your wife home without peculiar difficulty or suffering, and that you are yourself as well and vigorous as I always figure you, I remain

Ever yours faithfully,
F. J. CHILD

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 4, 1875.

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

I have spent the time since my return from Europe in getting into order my whole stock of Ballads, so far as the means now at my disposal allow. I am still expecting Kinloch's manuscripts, which, however, will afford no new ballads, but only new varieties, and, I fear, not *very* much in the way of entirely new varieties, for several persons have had access to them before me. Buchan's MSS. will yield almost nothing that has not been printed. There are still several manuscripts missing, but the hope of retrieving them is very faint. I shall be very glad of any notes that you may send me, but I beg you not to interrupt *pressing* affairs of your own on my account. I am not near to printing, and have no occasion to hurry you: at the same time I shall be glad to receive your observations on the first parcel of ballads when it is convenient to you to send them.

I have decided to make only two divisions, "Romantic," stretching the name, and Historical. I have not made up my mind precisely as to the order of individual pieces, but shall put the "Wonder Ballads" first. I shall omit everything that is not strictly a Popular Ballad, and if you add to the really popular ballads printed in my first volume[1] (*including May Colvin*) half a dozen from Buchan (*Twa Magicians*, *Queen of Scotland*, *Young Allan*, *Willie's Fatal Visit*, *Young Ronald*, *Charlie Græme*) and *Sir Lionell*, I think you will have all or nearly all of that class.

I have no new evidence concerning Buchan. I can prove a forgery in only one case. It is suspicious that he almost always has a longer version of every ballad than anybody else, and that the language of his versions does not agree so much as might be expected with that of other Northern versions. I think there can be no doubt that he worked up his copies a great deal and stuck in commonplaces freely. But still I cannot believe, with Prior,[1] that Buchan somewhere obtained Scandinavian materials and made up ballads from the. Them surprise that you express at my leaving out so many of Buchan's ballads is well founded. I certainly ought to have proceeded upon a clearer principle. In general, I suspected everything that was not vouched for by some other collector of credit, and after all I admitted *Chil Ether!* I shall treat B.'s ballads as substantially genuine, but I think that I shall put them into smaller type than those of honest collectors.

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[1] Though the *2d edition* was extremely far from what I might have made it, even, it was an improvement on the first, and I trust you have the second. [Child's note.] Grundtvig had, at all events, the second edition in the London re-issue of 1861. See the beginning of his first letter.

I will make a rough arrangement of the ballads that are to follow and send it soon. Of those that I have printed, the first 12 in the 4th book, the first 13 in the 3d book, and the first 10 in the 5th book would necessarily come early. All your dispositions seem to me excellent and I shall pattern my collection upon yours. I cannot treat the subjects of the ballads with the same fullness. The publishers would not undertake the book, if I did, and I am always in fear of dying before completing the work. I must be comparatively brief, but I intend still to be thorough. I shall number the ballads and the stanzas, as you do, give the texts without marginal notes, the important various readings at the end of each ballad, and so on.

You intimated in your letter of March 25 that you had thought of sketching your idea of what the *order* of the ballads should be. I wish you had carried out the intention, for I find my views, so far as I have formed them, somewhat unstable. I have not come to a *serious* consideration of the matter, having been taken up with other things, but I am conscious of an unwillingness to make an ultimate decision. Absolutely new material, by the way, I have but very little of, and what there is is not of the first importance.

What do you think of Motherwell's "Sir Roland"? Is he not his own "ingenious friend"?[2] Why is not this ballad in Motherwell's Manuscript? (Where, however, on looking I do *not* find everything else that he has put into his *Minstrelsy*.)

"Auld Matrons," Buchan ii–238, is simply a fragment of the first fit of Adam Bell, curiously disguised: but in this case I can hardly believe that Buchan was audacious enough to attempt an imposition. Still, if Buchan, or some friend of his, executed "King Malcolm and Sir Colvin," as a parallel to Percy's ballad,[3] *Auld Matrons* would be work of exactly the same description.

When you favor me with another letter, I shall be glad if you will inform me whether Vedel, Syv, and the *Tragica*,[4] are difficult to obtain now. I have ordered them again and again through our German agent in Göttingen and without restriction as to price. Perhaps you could suggest a good Copenhagen *Antiquariat* that might find them in time. We have a poor and late Syv: we have the *Levninger*[1] (but not *Danske Sange af det ældste Tidsrum*)[2] and as we aim at making a complete collection of Ballads, our deficiency in these Danish books is most lamentable. I have only *two* parts of your fourth volume as yet, but whatever else has been printed will come immediately.

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[1] See Prior's *Ancient Danish Ballads*, Introduction, I, xv.

[2] See Motherwell's *Minstrelsy*, p. 124.

[3] *Sir Cauline*, in the *Reliques*; cf. Child's *E. S. P. B.*, Appendix to No. 61.

[4] A Danish ballad collection, published in 1657.

It will always be a matter of keen regret to me that I failed to find you at Montreux. There were considerations which prevented my following your track, but if I had been sure of finding you at Wildbad, I should have made no account of that distance. Permit me to hope that the sojourn in Switzerland was beneficial to your wife. I almost fear to allude to the subject. — I enclose a *carte de visite* which makes me much too young. With highest regard, I remain, my dear Professor,

Your ever obliged and faithful servant,

F. J. CHILD.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
Jan. 29, 1877.

M. SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

MY DEAR SIR,

I hope you have understood that my delay in calling for your help has been exclusively owing to a reluctance to interfere with your own work — I have been forced to give up Ballads for many months now, but expect to return to the subject within three months and to prepare at last to print. I have now got all the manuscripts that are to be had, and I am trying to collect ballads that are left in Aberdeenshire, but I have no reason to wait longer.

I write to ask you to send me a proper address, and to ask how I shall transmit to you the 500 dollars agreed upon. Shall it be a draft on London, or on Hamburgh, if I find that I cannot buy exchange on Copenhagen directly? Permit me to say in all frankness that I should have been glad to send this sum at any time since the receipt of your first letter, if I had not seemed to be hurrying you. Your assistance will be even more valuable and valued, now that I have had time to go over a good part of the general field myself. As to what I should best like, it is — your view of a *proper order* for the English ballads: references to Scandinavian kindred ballads (I fear that I do not know the *latest* publications: I have seen a volume of

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[1] *Levninger af Middelalderens Digtekunst*, a Danish ballad collection, published in two parts, the first by Sandvig in 1780, and the second by Nyerup in 1784; cf. my *Ballad Criticism*, pp. 277–279.

[2] Edited by B. K. Sandvig, 1779.

Jydsk F. V.[1] and we have just received no. 4 of your 4th vol.): anything else you think may escape me. I confess that with regard to arrangement, I can come to no conclusion at all satisfactory to myself: the chemistry of the English and Scottish ballad seems to me, *mostly*, as indeterminable as that of Greek myths. But all the more should I like your advice. You once suggested your making a sketch of an arrangement for the whole body of ballads. This I should much like to see.

I wish to send you the money at *once*, because I shall be sure to have it in March unless I get killed on my journey south. I have had like most Americans "hard times" for a couple of years, and wish now to take advantage of an improvement. At the same time I repeat that I do not wish to disturb you in any way.

Permit me to hope that the health of your wife has improved, and that if you take a summer journey to Switzerland this year, it will be partly, at least, for pleasure.

I remain, with warm and high regard,

Yours faithfully,

F. J. CHILD.

COPENHAGEN, February 17, 1877.[2]

PROFESSOR F. J. CHILD,
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of Jan. 29 was a great surprise and a great satisfaction to me, for to tell the truth, I had almost given up all hopes of ever hearing more from you or of your ballad edition. It is more than two years since you wrote last (Jan. 4, 1875), and then you wrote: "I will make a rough arrangement of the ballads, and *send it soon*."

This is what I have waited for these two years. I wish you had done so and sent it now; for it is more your business than mine, and it must be far easier to you than to me, who cannot have all the printed materials at hand, not to speak of such additions to the stock that are only found in the manuscript collections at your command.

However, as this seems to be the only practical means of getting forward, *I am willing to try*, and in the course of three months I hope to have finished a minute sketch of the arrangement, to be subjected to your test.

I am so highly interested in your plan, and feel so anxious to see it carried out, that I shall push aside everything else that I possibly *can*, to meet with your wishes; though from the beginning I was not prepared to undertake *that* department of your work.

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[1] Probably E. T. Kristensen's *Gamle jyske Folkeviser*; see Child's list of Ballad Books (Danish), *E. S. P. B.*, V, 455. Cf. Grundtvig's reference to Kristensen in his letter of February 17, 1877.

[2] This letter has not been preserved among the Child MSS. It is given here from a copy of Grundtvig's own draft, preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

As to the address, Mr. Svend Grundtvig, Copenhagen, has proved sufficient, but a more exact one will be: "Professor S. G. of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Copenhagen, Platanvej 12. V." The best plan of paying me the money you speak of, will be to send me a draft on 500 American gold dollars reduced to Sterling and drawn on a good London house.

I wish that at the same time you would be kind enough to tell me something of yourself. You have not been in Europe since '74, I presume. Your health is, I hope unimpaired, for your life is precious.

As to myself, I have staid quietly at home and steadily at work ever since I brought home my sick wife in the autumn, '74. She has, I am sorry to say, not been able to leave her bed ever since. So there is but little prospect of my making pleasure trips in Switzerland or otherwise. I am a man of work and not of leisure or pleasure, but I feel happy, content and grateful for my lot.

The 4th part of the IVth volume of *DgF* is the last published. The next will be the 1st, 2nd, and 3d part of the Vth volume. Then will follow the 5th and last part of the IVth volume and the 4th and 5th part of the Vth volume, all containing *Tillæg*[1] to the former volumes. By the by, I suppose you have seen the jocular letter addressed to me by Professor Liebrecht in the *Germania*, 1876.[2] Of Kristensen's *Jyske Folkeviser* another volume has appeared, which I send you now. I have taken charge of the publication.

I also beg you to accept a small collection of Danish Popular Tales[3] reconstructed by me.

And now in the hope of soon hearing good reports, I remain, my dear Sir, your ever faithful servant,

SVEND GRUNDTVIG

CAMBRIDGE,
15 March, 1877.

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

DEAR PROFESSOR GRUNDTVIG,

It gives me very great pleasure to be in actual communication again with you, through your letter of February 17, and to think that this year, this summer I may go to work on Ballads again. My attention has been almost wholly withdrawn from that subject, but not without some recalcitration on my part: for I have been troubled with the thought that, in case of my dying, most of my preparation for editing the English ballads would be wasted. I have been able only to do such correspondence as was necessary to secure two or three manuscripts that I had heard of — none of first-rate importance — and to induce certain persons in or near Aberdeen to exert themselves to collect the ballads, which are still preserved in memory there. I hoped to find *good* copies of some of the ballads put forth by Buchan.[1] Hitherto, owing to the sluggishness of the people I have addressed — or ought I not to say to their not being able to give up their time to the business of collection! — I have not made much progress at Aberdeenshire, but I am expecting a newly made acquaintance, from the very heart of that region, to go out to Scotland this year — a man who says that his own mother has more than a hundred ballads in her memory — and he has promised his services. — Although I have tried to note all the books of *Folkeviser* that have appeared, anywhere, I fear that I may have overlooked some things in Scandinavia, and I should be glad to have a note of anything that has come out in the last two years, in the way of Ballads, Songs, Tales, etc., except your book and E. T. Kristensen's. And by the way your *Æventyr* and the *Jyske Folkeviser* have come to hand: for which warm thanks. I shall prize them much higher as your gift.

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[1] Addenda.

[2] An open letter, from Felix Liebrecht to Grundtvig, urging the importance of *DgF* to scholars everywhere and, between jest and earnest, rebuking Grundtvig for editorial tardiness; in *Germania*, XXI (N. S. IX), 252–255.

[3] *Danske Folkeæventyr*, of which Grundtvig published three volumes, 1876–83.

As to the arrangement of the English and Scottish ballads: I certainly would not ask you to make out an elaborate and minute scheme. I had in mind only a general sketch of an arrangement. But such is my regard for your judgment that I shall welcome whatever you may be disposed to suggest on that subject (or any other). Though I have had no time for steady work upon Ballads, I really think that I should have made a beginning with such scraps of time as I could get, if I had been able to satisfy myself with a good order.

I have *no* ballads, worth speaking of, that you are not possessed of, in some form. With all my searching I have not found one unknown ballad since the *Percy MS.* was printed.

Any notes of Scandinavian ballads and stories not likely to come under my observation — or neglected by me — would be gladly received at any time.

If I can keep to my intention, I shall try to get the English and Scottish Ballads into print *soon*, with such notes upon them as I can make without delay, for the one important thing is to furnish the ballads themselves in completeness and correctness. Then it will matter but little whether they are edited as well as they might be. And I should hope to have the advantage of your criticism, and of that of other scholars, in making a second and final edition. Not to refer to my inability to imitate the masterly grasp of the subject of Popular Ballads which your work shows, there will not be time for me to go into expositions of great length, nor would any publisher that I could get consent that the publication should extend to a great bulk or cover many years. I shall follow the admirable plan of your *Folkeviser* in nearly all respects.

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[1] Gavin Greig has since found rich materials of the sort desired by Child. See Greig's *Folk-Song of the North-East*; and his *Last Leaves*, edited by Alexander Keith.

I am much grieved to learn that there has been no improvement in the health of your wife. I had an experience of many years of painful invalidism — for a part of the time hopeless — with my own wife, which terminated, however, in the restoration to very fair health.

Liebrecht's letter I have not yet seen (in *Germania* of last year) in consequence of our library having been remiss with regard to both *Germania* and *Romania*, but I shall see it soon. I can imagine what he would say. I trust that your magnificent confidence in life will be justified in the end, and that your work will be finished on the truly grand scale that you have hitherto worked on. You are still young, and I fear nothing for you but those accidents to which this world is liable.

I enclose the first of exchange for £102/17/7, the equivalent of 500 gold dollars yesterday, and will for security's sake send a second within a few days.

From the first of May I shall be free from some occupations (lectures) which now are a burden to me, and whenever you have the leisure I shall be very glad to hear from you,

Remaining always your faithful servant (and allow me to say, friend)

F. J. Child.

April 19, 1877.

Professor F. J. Child —

My dear Sir,

I send you these preliminary lines only to thank you for the receipt of your two letters enclosing the draft, which has been duly paid by one of our banks. You may be sure that I will do my utmost to be useful to you, and I hope that in the course of next month I shall be able to forward to you another series of remarks on the English and Scottish ballads arranged for your immediate use, comprising at least what I think must be the first part of your edition.

With your kind permission I subscribe myself as ever your faithful friend and servant,

S. G.[1]

Copenhagen, August 25, 1877.

Prof. F. J. Child,

My dear Sir,

I am very sorry that circumstances have so far delayed the fulfilment of my hopes expressed in a letter of 19 April, that I shall be three months later than promised in sending you the following remarks and propositions for the arrangement of the ballads.

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[1] The original of this letter has not been preserved among the Child MSS. It is given here from a photostatic copy of Grundtvig's own duplicate, in the Danish Folklore Collection of the Royal Library at Copenhagen.

It is self-evident that the most satisfying arrangement of any material is that which is derived out of itself and not one transferred from other materials. Experiences may be transferred from one field to another, but the mode of proceeding must as far as possible be prescribed by the special nature of the field that is to be cultivated. Now there is no doubt that the ballad poetry of the Gothic nations is upon the whole contemporary and of a homogeneous character both with regard to its contents, treatment, style of poetry and form of verse, but nevertheless each department has its own peculiarities, and also there is a great difference between the Scandinavian and the Anglo-Scottish, for instance, with regard to what parts of the whole body, the entire ballad stock, have been preserved and further developed in the different literatures. Consequently a system of arrangement that fits one of them perfectly well may be less adapted for the use of another.

The fundamental principle for the arrangement of the Danish Ballads has been, and I think must be, the subject, the contents, at least for the three great departments represented in the three first volumes of my edition: the heroic ballad, the wonder ballad and the historical ballad. These three classes of ballads are so characteristic and so copiously represented, that they must be taken separately. The last class also affords the best regulator for the history of the ballads themselves, showing the development of taste and versification during the whole course of the ballad-producing centuries from the 12th to the 16th. But when we come to the great bulk of ballads, treating some accident of human life, joy or sorrow, happy or unhappy love, licit or illicit connections, etc., we feel the inadequacy of the principle. It still has its interest to remark the variations of a certain theme, the development of a certain idea, the similarities and dissimilarities within a certain group of ballads, but there is no rational connection between the separate groups, no natural principle of classification, the arrangement of the groups is quite arbitrary. From a scientific point of view this is very unsatisfactory, but not to be evaded, where the subject has been made the leading principle of division into certain classes. Such, however, is the case with *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, where the two first volumes comprise the heroic and mythic and wonderful department, the third one the historical. In this last class the chronological order is a natural one and determines the plan of each series. But with regard to the rest of the ballads we are left to the loose arbitrary arrangement of a series of groups which have little or no natural transition or connection between them.

But what was to some degree inevitable with the Danish Ballads is not so with the English. Here we have [1] no class answering to the 1st series of

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[1] The preceding portion of the letter, not having been preserved among the Child MSS, is here given from a copy of Grundtvig's own draft, in the Danish Folklore Collection of the Royal Library at Copenhagen. What follows is given from the original in the Child MSS.

Danish Ballads, no remnants of heathen Song of Gods and Heroes; only a few ones, mostly of Gaelic origins might be reckoned as such. Neither are here to be found materials for a historical series like the Danish, comprising more than four centuries. The second class even, the wonder ballad, is more scantily represented in this English Ballad lore, though it must be admitted that here might be the materials for a separate series. The subject also affords the means of joining some other classes, as the Border Ballads, the Outlaw Ballads, etc. But between the classes there is no natural transition, and the rest of the ballads still is left undetermined. Upon the whole I think that the subject, the theme, the contents is no rational or natural principle of classification for the English Ballads, and ought not to be the ruling principle here, if another more suitable and scientifically warrantable may be found.

This is what I have tried to find, and which now I flatter myself to have found, in making not the subject, but *the form*, the meter of the ballad the ruling principle of division. In this manner I think an arrangement may be attained, at once natural, rational and historical.

When we look at the Danish historical ballads, we find that all of them belonging to the XII^th^ century are in the two-lined meter, with four accents in each line, and generally with two burthens, one after the first, another after the second line. This no doubt is the oldest as it is the simplest of the ballad meters, and wherever we find a ballad in different forms: partly with the two-lined and partly with the four-lined meter, it is evident, that the first one is the older one.

From the beginning of the XIII^th^ century the greater part of the Danish historical ballads are in the four-lined meter: with four accents in the 1^st^ and 3^rd^ line, but only three accents in the two rhyming lines, the 2^nd^ and 4^th^. This is the later of the two ballad meters, and the Scandinavian ballad has no more than these two.

In the English and *Scottish* Ballad poetry we have the same two forms, and a third one besides, which evidently is an expansion of the second meter: each one of the four lines has *four* accents. This meter is found in the greater part of the Border ballads, in some historical ballads from late in the XVI^th^ and from the XVII^th^ century and besides in some stray renovations of older ballads. It is unquestionably a comparatively late form.

This difference of meter ought I think to be the fundamental principle of classification with the English Ballad, and the subject of the ballad should be made only a secondary help in the arrangement.[1]

I must send this off in a hurry, as I am just starting for Upsala where I am to stay a week to receive an honorary doctorship on the 400 years anniversary of that University.

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[1] With this letter Grundtvig sent a detailed scheme of the ballads which in his opinion ought to constitute the first class in Child's collection, those in the two-lined stanza, Nos. 1–22. Only a part of this scheme is extant among the Child MSS, vol. IX. The entire scheme, as preserved among Grundtvig's papers in Copenhagen, appears as Appendix B in this book. Grundtvig's proposals for the other classes were sent with his letter of January 29, 1880; see the notes to that letter and Nos. 23 ff. in Appendix B.

In the mean time this letter wends its way to your hands. And I hope you will soon write me a word, whether I am to proceed. — In December I hope will appear 1st part of the Vth volume of *DgF* (the fifth and last part of vol. IV is not to appear before after the second part of vol. V).

Wishing to hear good news from you of your health and spirit and workings I remain, My dear Sir, Yours ever sincerely,

SVEND GRUNDTVIG.

CAMBRIDGE, Oct. 13, 1877.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

Your letter of August 25 came while I was turned out of my study, and almost out of my house, by mechanics engaged in enlarging my house — an operation which cost me two precious months. I am much obliged to you for your remarks on the difficult problem of arrangement. I had not thought of the division which you suggest. Unquestionably the ballads which are preserved in English in the 2-line stanza are as old as any, and though many in the four-line stanza are, judged by other criteria, as old as these, there is an approach to a rational arrangement in putting the two-line ballads before the others.

I should be extremely glad to have you go on with the arrangement, with a *reason* now and then in difficult cases. I should like to see *where* you would bring in *Sir Gawain*, where the Robin Hood ballads, where such ballads as *Queen Eleanor's Confession*, *King and Tanner of Tamworth*, *Get up and bar the door*, etc. I do not see how I can help making a division of Historical Ballads. I must also put the Robin Hood ballads together. Only a few of these are old in their present form, but *Robin Hood and the Monk* and *Robin Hood and the Potter* are among the very few preserved in old manuscripts, and Robin Hood ballads are the only ones which we know by historical testimony (*Piers Ploughman*) to have been in the *mouths of the vulgar* as early as 1350. They are therefore older than our oldest "historical" ballads, and must precede the historical ballads. But it is most superfluous to speak of such points to you. Permit me to put down in order what I should like to have you do, if you are so disposed, and when you find time.

(1) To complete a sketch of the arrangement you would think the best. In doing this notes of things not likely to attract my attention would always be welcome, and especially notices of ballads resembling the English which occur in *unprinted* sources, or in any out of the way publication. For example, I had never heard of the *Svenska Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift*. I shall now send for it. But it would be unnecessary trouble for you to note ballads in any of the German collections, for instance. We have a very good collection of accessible printed collections here.

(2) If you have formed any opinion as to the time when the English ballads were produced, I should be glad to know your views.

(3) How can we get
Vedel 1591 (or) 1632 (or) 1643 (or) 1671?
Syv 1695?
Tragica 1657?
We have Syv 1787!
If Bruun in his Danish Bibliography has got so far, I have not seen that part of his book. I ordered these long ago in Germany, and repeatedly, without having or expecting any success. I do not know exactly how rare they are. Could you give me the name of a Copenhagen bookseller most likely to find them — if they are to be had — and some hint of a fair price.

We have your books, Bugge, Landstad, Berggreen, Lindeman, Moe, Abrahamson, Molbech, Nyerup and Rasmussen, Oehlenschläger, Sandvig's *Levninger*, Kristensen, Schaldemose, Geijer and Afzelius, Arwidsson, Cavallius and Stephens *Historiska Visor*, vol. 1, Dybeck *Svenska Visor*, Lyngbye, Hammershaimb, and some less important things. Of course I shall find all that is material for Danish ballads in the *D. G. F.*, but I want to have Vedel, Syv and the *Tragica* by me still. Are there other periodicals like the *Sv. F. Tidskrift* which I ought to know?

I am now becoming alarmed lest I should *never* print the English Ballads, so many and so long have been the interruptions to my progress.

The one essential thing is for me to give all our ballads in their best forms. Illustrations, the best order, the literary history, are not so important, for somebody else can supply what I omit, while judging by the passivity of Englishmen the ballads will wait long for an editor. I will not delay a *year* or a week longer than I am compelled.

I am most curious and anxious to see your preface to your 4th volume. That must needs be very instructive to me. Forgive me if I say I hope you will find some little difficulty in writing it — for I should be very much embarrassed myself.

I am glad to hear of any honors bestowed on your most deserving head, and wish you with them health and long life — for the sake of the world too — prosperity and peace, with as much happiness as the world allows.

Always your cordial admirer, servant, and friend.

F. J. CHILD.

PROFESSOR DR. SVEND GRUNDTVIG, COPENHAGEN.

CAMBRIDGE, May 26, 1878.

TO PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is with regret that I have seen many days go by without my acknowledging the receipt of the first number of Vol. V of your splendid publication — unexampled in literature — of which my admiration only increases with time and use. I read the new pages immediately, and meant to send you an acknowledgment directly, and delayed only to make two or three notes of trifles which you might have added: such as the French variety of

Kvindemorderen, of which there are said to be some ten copies in the MS. Chansons Populaires in the Paris National Library. It was first printed in Ampère's *Instructions*, and Victor Smith has printed another copy among his ballads in *Romania*,[1] as you will have noticed. We had ordered a copy of this great collection at Paris and I every day expected to send you what it contained. But the bookseller to whom the commission was given disappointed me, and only the first volume is done, and not even that sent! These circumstances, and an extreme torpor caused by bad health, prevented my doing what I wished. Accept my thanks now, though very late.

I gave an order some months ago for some 25 Scandinavian books, of which I had taken the titles from your *Folkeviser* mostly, to our Göttingen agent. He writes that with much correspondence he has secured only *four!*

May I beg you at some leisure moment, some less occupied moment, I will say, to name a Copenhagen bookseller who could be relied upon to do all that is possible to get such things as small books bearing on Popular Poetry of the Scandinavian people.

Health and *very* long life to you. Not more for what remains to be done than for what you have accomplished.

Yours ever faithfully,
FRANCIS JAMES CHILD.

CAMBRIDGE, 30 Sept., 1878.

TO PROFESSOR DR. SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

I received with delight your second part of your fifth volume.

This has been a bad year for me. Sickness in my family and other causes have made it impossible for me to do what I wished. But I am resolved that there shall be not a moment more of unnecessary delay. I am glad to infer from an expression of yours that the *Íslensk fornkvæði* may yet be completed. How glad I shall be to subscribe for several copies in order to help complete the work.

Wishing you health and strength for 50 years more, I am always,

Your faithful obliged
F. J. CHILD.

CAMBRIDGE, March 16, 1879.

DEAR PROFESSOR GRUNDTVIG,

I am very late in acknowledging the receipt of your charming book of *Folke-æventyr*, which I see somebody has put into German, and which I myself should like to put into English if I had a better stock of health.

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[1] See Child's Bibliography in the *E. S. P. B.*, under the name Victor Smith.

You are able to carry on several important matters at once. My only excuse for a far inferior activity must be that our American college (or university) makes very great and various demands upon one's time. I have now begun to refuse applications which would call me off from my proper business, and have actually begun getting ready a first volume of English ballads, for I am convinced that if I lose any more time, I shall never finish what I have been so tardy to begin.

Your 5th part[1] is very interesting and important to me, but I am not the less desirous to see part 4[1] ended. I have from time to time meant to write to you of slight matters that have occurred to me concerning certain ballads, but have always decided that you would have discovered all that I had to point out before my letter could reach you. Permit me to ask whether you keep an eye on all the *French* collections? It was very surprising to me to find so good a form of *Kvindemorderen*[2] as there is in Ampère's *Instructions*: (*Dion et la fille du roi*, last half, the beginning being a *Kvindelist*.[3]) The *Renaud et ses 14 femmes* of Puymaigre is far from being as good. There are some ten versions of *Dion*, it is said, in a MS. collection made under the patronage of the French government, and I hoped before this to be able to send you a copy of the important ones, but those pieces are in the 3d volume, and our copyist has finished only the 2d.[4]

Have you noticed the French *Redselille og Medelvold*[5] in Bujeaud, *Chansons Populaires de l'ouest*, 1. 200 — *with the bird?* I may as well copy this for the chance of your not having the book by you.

Leesome Brand in Buchan is the oddest mixture that ever was made. St. 4 reminds me of *Earl Brand* 2, and the "*unco land*," in St. 1, of the paradise in *Kvindemorderen* and in *Ribold and Guldborg*,[6] and the Knife and Sheath apparently belong to the *Bonny Hynd*.

I am much impeded by indifferent health, but still I hope to have a volume ready to print by a year from this time. It will have no revelations for you, but will be a conveniency, if I can live to do it. I should like *some time* a note of any close parallels to *Bonny Hynd*.

I remain, dear Professor,

Your obliged and admiring servant and friend,

F. J. CHILD.

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.[7]

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[1] Part, *i. e.*, volume.

[2] Grundtvig's *DgF*, No. 183.

[3] *DgF*, No. 235.

[4] A complete copy of the French MS. is listed by Child in his "Titles of Ballad Books" (French), *E. S. P. B.*, Pt. X, as preserved in the library of Harvard College, under the title *Poésies populaires de la France.*

[5] *DgF*, No. 271.

[6] *DgF*, No. 82. For Child's use of the Danish ballads mentioned in this letter, see his "Index of Ballad Titles" in the *E. S. P. B.*

[7] Grundtvig endorsed this letter: *Modt. 3/4 79*: "Rec'd 3/4 79."

Cambridge, Dec. 9, 1879.

My dear Professor Grundtvig,

I send you one ballad in print.[1] I have had this set up in order to come to some conclusion with a publisher as to the best form of page, and also to give some idea of the kind of book I purpose. You will see that in small and great everything is modelled on your pattern. When you edit a Danish ballad which the English have as well, there is scarcely anything for me to add but a text or two which has not hitherto been printed. Of course you will encounter yourself in almost all the older ballads at every turn. — I have now begun to work regularly, but am much impeded by a very low tone of health. Still if I can get a publisher to issue the English ballads in *livraisons*, instead of complete volumes, or even a complete work at once — which the English have a prejudice for, you know — I might before long send out *Hæfte* 1[2]. — I suppose you must be nearly done with the *Tillæg* to vol. 4. It will be most interesting to me, and I would not so far stand in your way as to ask for a single line: but *when* you have a moment's time, I should like to have a note of ballads, not of English, which *strictly* resemble the *Bonny Hynd*. I do not think I have any, though I have noted partial resemblances.

Wishing that you may be in good health, and may have a happy Christmas, I remain your faithful and obliged servant and friend,

F. J. Child.

Professor Svend Grundtvig,
Copenhagen.[3]

Cambridge, Jan. 24, 1880.

Dear Professor,

It would fill me with compunction were I to occupy much of your time. *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* are but little more than half done, and the importance of that work to the world far exceeds what any other in the same line — I was going to say *all* others — can pretend to. Every time you edit a ballad which occurs in English you do a large part of my work for me. Consequently, when you speak of giving me a considerable piece of your time I am much disturbed. The one thing that a man who has ballads much at heart would wish is that *D. g. F.* should go on.

Were I living in Copenhagen, and had the pleasure of casual meetings with you, there would be many questions which I should like to ask — such questions as that about the *Bonny Hynd*. As I said, what I know of in the way of parallels is but little, and consists of *Margaret*, in *Færöiske Kvæder* and *Íslenzk Fornkvæði*, and the Kullervo story in the *Kalevala*.[4]

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[1] *Gil Brenton.*

[2] Part 1.

[3] Grundtvig endorsed this letter: *Svar 7/1 og 29/1 80*: "Answer 7/1 and 29/1 80."

[4] On these foreign connections with *The Bonny Hind*, see Child's introduction to the ballad, *E. S. P. B.*, No. 50.

I know of course *Liden Ellen og hendes Broder* in your *Engelske og Skotske Folkeviser*. I was troubled at my having overlooked, or never seen, the corresponding Swedish, Dutch and Slavic ballads. But very likely, before you get this, you will have shown me that my eyes are not so sharp as they should be. — I have been endeavoring to interest the Shetland people in ballads. I had supposed that, as the Scotch had been 300 years in possession of the islands, enough of them might have gone there to plant Scottish ballads. But that seems doubtful; at any rate, an intelligent correspondent says that the Scotch clergy as *a class* have done their best to destroy any relic of antiquity in the shape of tradition or ballad. Some Norse traditions of value may remain, and the Norse population are said to be much more amenable to appeals in behalf of traditional remains. A lady has already written that she is publishing scraps from Shetland in an English periodical called "The Leisure Hour." The second number for February, was to contain a nearly complete ballad. This I am very curious to see.

I have been trying to get subscriptions for your new printing Society.[1] Harvard College Library and I will be of the number. It will be most convenient for us to deal through Deuerlich (Deuerlich'sche Buchhandlung) our agent in Göttingen. The English printing clubs (Chaucer, Early English Text, etc.) fix a sum for postage, and send out their books directly by mail. This would be a good arrangement for yours. I shall hope that the *Íslenzk Fornkvæði* will be completed.[2]

I will not detain you longer than to repeat your kind wishes upon your own head. I have often been afraid of dying before 1879 ended. I want to live long enough to put the world in possession of all the English ballads, and find it frequently necessary to say to myself that this is the only matter of essential importance. A very large and wearisome part of my "preparation" has been the endeavor to stir up Scotsmen to an interest sufficient to induce them to exert themselves to save things that may still be left. It is in vain. The Scot loves his ballads, but is incurious about them. It is a very bad sign when my hasty and unconsidered collection is thought to "leave nothing to be desired"!!!

Farewell, my dear Professor, with every good wish for *your* work, which I regard as one of the most perfect in all literature. Do not let me be in any way troublesome to you.

Faithfully, your friend and coworker,

F. J. CHILD.

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

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[1] Probably the Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur (Society for the Publication of Ancient Northern Literature), of which Grundtvig was one of the founders in 1878.

[2] The work was finished in 1885, yet some of the available materials remained unpublished, so that it was not quite "completed."

Ought not the Saga of Samson the Fair to be edited?[1] It is a strange jumble: the mixture of Arthur and Beowulf especially. Kvintalin comes so near to being an Ulver or a Halewyn, that it is a great pity he is not.

Copenhagen (Platanvej, V)
29-1-1880.

My dear Professor Child,

Though no doubt I have said the same thing in the hurried lines I sent you three weeks ago,[2] I must repeat it now, that the sight of your proof sheet quite electrified me and gave me the greatest possible pleasure. I need not say that from all my heart I wish you plenty of courage, strength and good-luck to carry through your excellent plan, so long and so conscientiously prepared. Perhaps also some selfish satisfaction may be mixed up with my pleasure. For it cannot but be satisfying to me, to see the outlines of the same plans which 30 years ago I laid for my ballad editions — then in opposition to all authorities — now acknowledged and adopted by the very best men of the present day.

In one respect however I would be very sorry to see my example followed, that is, in the extreme slowness of my editorial movements. But my best excuse for this fault must be the smallness of proportions, means and circumstances natural to my diminutive country, where a man cannot *live upon* such a speciality, even if he is willing to live for it, through some years, but must work in many different ways in order to subsist. It is not to be expected that a work such as *DgF*, could be executed without personal sacrifices in so small a country, and therefore it must take the longer time. Therefore I am not so far advanced with the continuation of my work as you suppose. The last one year and a half I have not been able to do anything for my ballad edition, having had quite enough to do with my lectures and with a Dictionary of the Danish language now in the press. And besides I always have a deal of gratuitous tasks to fulfil for the Academy of Sciences, in the Arnamagnean Commission and in several literary societies and committees, as also I have a great deal to do with the edition of the works of my father. However I hope to be able so far to disengage myself from other labors,[3] that in this year I may finish the IV^th^ volume of

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[1] The saga has since been edited: *Samson Friði og Kvintalin Kvennaþjófur*, Reikjavik, 1905. It had been previously published, in E. Björner's *Nordiska kämpa dater*, Stockholm, 1737. Cf. W. W. Lawrence, "Beowulf and the Saga of Samson the Fair," in *Studies in English Philology. A Miscellany in Honor of Frederick Klaeber*, ed. Kemp Malone and M. B. Ruud. Minneapolis, 1929.

[2] I have not seen either the original or a draft of the "hurried lines." From Grundtvig's having endorsed Child's letter of December 9, 1879 as "answered January 7 (and 29), 1880," I assume that Grundtvig's hurried lines must have carried mainly an acknowledgment of the specimen ballad in print sent by Child with his letter of December 9.

[3] Here the fragment preserved among the Child MSS breaks off. The rest of the letter is here given from Grundtvig's own draft, in the Danish Folklore Collection of the Royal Library at Copenhagen.

DgF and do something for the continuation of the Vth, which however is not to be the last. Besides I will as soon as possible publish the 4th and last part of the Icelandic Ballads.

I send you now, my dear friend and colleague, all I can think useful to you. Firstly you will find here the rest of the propositions for an arrangement of the matter,[1] which you have wished to see from my hand. The greater part of this I got up soon after sending you the beginning (1st class [2]), but I did not revert to it and transcribe it, till now, when I saw you were going to set about seriously. The details of this arrangement I have taken no great trouble to certify, for of course you in many respects know much better than I do; but I have tried to follow out the principles of division laid down in my former contribution. And I still think you would do well to adopt them, for as I have said before, the different materials demand a different method, and you have not in the English and Scottish ballads the same reasons for division as we have in the Danish.

Besides I have got up for you whatever I thought might be of any service.[3] And I need not remark, that I will be very glad to answer any further enquiries you might like to direct to me.

Now God bless you and your work, and give you the strength and courage, the good health and spirits wanted for the fulfilment of your honorable task. I remain, my dear Sir, your faithful friend and servant,

Svend Grundtvig

Cambridge, Mch. 21, 1880.

Dear Professor Grundtvig,

I received your letter, with the accompanying notes, in due time, but the business of my place has forced me to refrain from expressing to you my thanks. Now, my semi-annual examinations over, I shall be able to return to Ballads. I need not say that every word of yours is weighed with attention by me. The very important article of Sophus Bugge,[1] I have not had time to consider, but should imagine that it was a corollary to his other theories which are now making such a stir. He will expect a Bible story in many a ballad, I dare say, and such suggestions being infectious, and not to be demonstrably refuted, many minds will be ready to follow him to any length.

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[1] With this letter Grundtvig sent a detailed scheme of the ballads which in his judgment ought to constitute the second, third, and fourth classes in Child's collection. Only a fragment of the scheme is extant among the Child MSS. The entire scheme, taken from Grundtvig's own copy as preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection (*DFS 69*) of the Royal Library at Copenhagen, is printed as Appendix B in this book.

[2] Grundtvig's scheme for the first class was sent with his letter of August 25, 1877. See the notes to that letter and Nos. 1–23 of Appendix B. Child accepted and in substance employed Grundtvig's proposals for a classification of the English ballads according to metre. Cf. Child's letters of October 13, 1877, January 30, 1882, and January 18, 1883.

[3] As an appendix to his numerical classification, Grundtvig sent with this letter more extensive comments on certain of the numbers; these comments contain elaborate references to Scandinavian and other foreign parallels of English ballads and, in not a few cases, complete copies of Danish ballads at that time unprinted. Only a portion of this appendix is now extant among the Child MSS, vol. IX.

I would not have allowed you to write me so much, had I been aware what you were doing, and I have much remorse even now. With all your occupations, when will the other *4* volumes (?) of the *D. G. F.* see the light!

I do want to ask you one question, which is not to take ten minutes of your time.

There is a fairy ballad[2] printed in *The Leisure Hour*, a London weekly magazine, for Feb. 1880. It was obtained from Unst, Shetland, and is not of much value, being greatly enfeebled in the process of transmission. It is not of the ballad that I wish to speak, but of the burden. The burden is Norse, while the story is English, and the same burden, I gather, is used with other songs.

Scowan ürla grün
Whar giorten han grün oarlac.

I suppose the *ürla* is *aarle*, *Skoven aarle grøn*, and that the *oarlac* is *aarlig* again. I can make no sense of *giorten han* (supposing *whar* may be *hvo har*.) To your eye the *-en han* may suggest the right reading instantly. — I do not finish this note till April 2, owing to many interferences. I return all your good wishes a hundred fold, and with thanks and best regards, am always faithfully your friend and servant,

F. J. Child.

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[1] Bugge's article on "Holofernes" in his "Bidrag til den nordiske Balladedigtnings Historie," in *Det philologisk-historiske Samfunds Mindeskrift*, Copenhagen, 1879, pp. 64 ff. In the article Bugge maintains that the Danish ballad of *Kvindemorderen* is a wild scion of the story of Judith and Holofernes. Grundtvig, in the annotations to his proposed order of the English and Scottish ballads submitted to Child in his communication of January 29, 1880, made a decidedly questioning appraisal of Bugge's theory, under the proposed No. 81: *May Colvin*. Cf. Child's reference to Holofernes in his letter of February 6, 1881. — Bugge made extensive contributions to *DgF* over a period of years. On *Kvindemorderen* and its correlatives, see *DgF*, No. 183, and Child's "Index to Ballad Titles" (Danish).

[2] Child's No. 19: *King Orfeo*.

Cambridge, April 6, 1880.

Dear Professor,

In a letter which I sent you a few days ago, I put some notes on Halewyn[1] ballads, which were not quite as full as I intended. I add today what I omitted then.

With best regards,

Yours faithfully ever,

F. J. Child.

Professor Svend Grundtvig,
Copenhagen.

Cambridge, Feb. 6, 1881.

Dear Professor,

In one of your letters to me you say you have interesting Danish, Swedish and Norwegian parallels to the English *Sir Lionel*[2] (or *The Jovial Hunter of Broomsgrove*). I have nothing Scandinavian except what is afforded by your 112, *Helligbröden*. I should be very glad to have a note of the parallels you refer to. And also to ask if you know of any other popular piece corresponding to Motherwell's "Fause Knicht upon the road," *Minstrelsy*, Introduction, p. lxxiv, besides the very curious one in O. Rancken, *Några prof af folksång*, p. 25. — The very briefest answer will suffice for my wants.

A word now about *Kvindemorderen*. I suppose that you and Professor Bugge must long ago have seen "Roland"[3] in Lootens et Feys *Chants pop. flamands*, no. 37, p. 60. This form of the ballad would confirm Bugge in his theory, and especially by the circumstance that the young woman goes to Roland's quarters and finds him in bed — *Roland die op zijn bedde lag*, 39, agreeing with Judith, xiii. 4, *Holofernes jacebat in lecto*. — I have a copy of the Swiss ballad in *Schweizerblätter*, and will send it to you in a few days. This ballad is of no particular consequence, but it is not "improved" like Rochholz's. — On looking into the Polish collections, I have found 40 versions of a form of the ballad resembling mostly the 3^{d} class of the German.[4] They are conveniently collected in Kolberg's *Pieśni Ludu Polskiego*. No. 5. *bbb* is after the fashion of German *first*-class, and this only (from Pauli, *Pieśni Ludu Polskiego w Galicyi*, p. 90). The story of the others is that John persuades Katharine to go off with him, taking much gold and silver. After they have gone a certain distance, he, in a wood or at a spring, etc., orders her to take off her rich clothes (sometimes to *return* to her mother) then throws her into a deep river (pool, etc.). In some of the ballads she is picked out *alive* by fishermen with nets, in more she is dead.

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[1] See Child's introduction to his No. 4: *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight.*

[2] Child's No. 18.

[3] See the introduction to Child's No. 4: *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight.*

[4] One or two in Slovak and another dialect, besides. Touching here The Fair Flower of Northumberland, etc. [Child's note.]

A brother in some slides down from a mountain on a silk cord, but does nothing more than request the fishermen to rescue his sister. In the ballads which make her escape alive, the man is not punished: in the others he is pursued and cut to pieces, broken on the wheel, etc. In *pp* John entices the maid by telling her that in his country the mountains are gold and the ways silken. In some copies after the pair have stolen away, they go 130 miles etc. without a word between them, as in French and Italian ballads. The choice of deaths appears in *gg* — elsewhere choice between drowning and returning, *qq*, *t*, etc. Previous victims are mentioned in *m*, *n*, *ss*: as in *m*, "You fancy you are the only one there (in the water): 6 have gone before and you are the 7th." — The French ballads are: *A*, Puymaigre, *Chants pop.* No. 31, p. 98. *B*, Ampère, *Instructions*, p. 40. *C*, Bujeaud, ii, 232. *D*, Gagnon, *Chansons pop. du Canada*, p. 155 (A cavalier meets 3 maids, mounts the fairest behind him, rides 500 leagues without speaking; she asks to drink. He takes her to a spring; when there she did not care to drink. The rest is not to the point.). *E*, Champfleury, *Chansons pop. des Provinces*, p. 172. *F*, *Poésies pop. de la France* (MS. in National Libr., Paris) III, fol. 58, No. 16, like *E*.

Although I am very reluctant to undertake the correspondence which I know will result, I have issued circulars (there are to be 1000) inviting students throughout the country to unite in gathering ballads from the Irish American population.[1]

Were you at hand there are things I could wish to consult you about, but I shall go on and make all the mistakes I must, rather than wait for more light. I *hope*, after much fruitless inquiry, that I have discovered the whereabouts of the Brown ballad MSS. used by Scott.[2] If so, I shall not need to quote W. S.'s improved versions. I have had to pay more than a hundred pounds for three MSS. of no great value (I got the money from friends, for the Harvard Library) and this being heard of, a publisher reserves another MS. and will not let me have it, hoping to make money by printing it. You see the ways are not easy to the originals of English ballads. We had to pay £150 for a copy of the Percy MS. — Wishing you ever well, and much speed to the *D. G. F.*,

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[1] A four-page circular, dated January 29, 1881, entitled, "Invitation to unite in an effort to collect popular ballads from oral tradition. Addressed particularly to students in colleges." In the circular Child recites the progress he has made in gaining access to manuscripts and in exploring oral tradition; he reports the disappointing results of his Appeal to the people of Scotland in 1873; believing that Irish traditions may be less exhausted, he now asks the readers of the circular to record ballads that may have survived among the Irish people of America, and English and Scottish Americans as well; he calls attention to the remarkable success of Grundtvig and of Kristensen in Denmark; he gives instructions for the proper recording of ballads, burdens, and airs, and prints copies of *The Cruel Sister* and of *Sir Hugh* by way of specimens of the sort of thing desired. Child sent a copy of the circular with this letter to Grundtvig; it is still preserved among Grundtvig's papers in the Danish Folklore Collection. A copy of the circular has been separately catalogued in the Harvard College Library, call number 25243.28*; there is another copy among the Child MSS, XVII, 115. The same volume of the MSS contains a number of communications from Miss Margaret Reburn, in response to the circular invitation, submitting various texts which proved to be useful. The results of the invitation were not otherwise conspicuous.

[2] See pp. 55–56 of this volume.

Yours faithfully,

F. J. Child.

Cambridge, Nov. 24, 1881.

My dear Professor,

I think you may be glad to see these five literal translations of Magyar versions of *Kvindemorderen*. They were dictated to me a day or two ago by a learned friend who came more than 200 miles to do me that favor. Aigner in *Ungarische Volksdichtung*, p. 170, has mixed 4 and 3, and at p. 120 has translated 1; but has darkened or left out some of the things which interest us.

I have made my arrangements with a publisher, and am only waiting for him to get types to his mind. Manuscripts I hear of from time to time which lure me a long way into a wilderness of correspondence: printing will stop these vain outreachings.

Hoping that you are well, that vol. 4 is done, and that I may be able to send you my first *heft* in a seasonable time. I remain ever faithfully

Your friend and colleague,

F. J. Child.

Professor Svend Grundtvig,
Copenhagen.[1]

Platanvej, Copenhagen, V.
January 6, 1882.

My dear Professor,

You have treated me very kindly, and I have served you very ill. Now, before entering on my confession, I wish you a happy New Year by all my heart, I wish you plenty of strength and courage and good luck to the execution of the great task for which you have prepared yourself so long and so carefully.

I know that I am a great sinner against you, and before asking your absolution I must confess the whole of it. It is now nearly two years since I wrote you word. Very soon after I got a letter from you (March 21, 1880) in which a direct question with regard to a Shetland ballad with a Norse (or rather Danish) burden,

"*Scowan ürla grün*
whar giorten han grün oarlac."

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[1] Grundtvig endorsed this letter: *Svar 6/1 82:* "Answer 6/1 82."

You guessed undoubtedly right: *Skoven årle grön*, but you could not make out the rest. I take it for granted, that *grün* in the second part is if not a misprint or a miswriting at all events an error for another word, and I read with much confidence: *hvor hjorten han går årlig.*[1] I am sorry to say that this ballad itself is unknown to me, as the London periodical *The Leisure Hour* is unaccessible to me here. If it were not too presumptuous I would express a wish occasionally to be favored with a transcript of it. —

At the same time, as also afterwards, you have been good enough to furnish me with lots of references to some Danish ballads, particularly to *Kvindemorderen* and *Redselille.* Some of these I have, but many others I can not get at. Most of the Slavic collections you mention are entirely wanting here. Else I might well get them translated by a colleague at the University, Dr. Vilhelm Thomsen. The Hungarian texts, which you had the extreme goodness to send me in a German translation are of the highest interest. We have the original here, but I can make nothing of it, so I am extremely thankful to you for your contributions. What an immense library of folk-lore you must have at hand, and what an immense labor you have taken upon yourself to find your way through the whole of it.

You wrote to me again Feb. 6, 1881, and then you put another question to me which I ought to have answered long ago. It was with regard to Scandinavian parallels to *The Wild Boar.*

On another sheet I will tell you what I know about it. Then I must proceed in making my confession.

Over and over again you had called for my propositions with regard to the *arrangement* of the English-Scottish Ballads, while I thought that you ought to make it yourself. And at last I conformed to your wishes and 1877 and 1880 I sent you my propositions for the arrangement of the matter.

I will not deny having been rather dissatisfied or disappointed at the result. Not one word you have said of it,[2] whether you could accept or not agree with the new principle I brought to bear on the matter. And when year after year went without any seeming progress towards the realization of the great critical edition of the English and Scottish Ballads in which I felt so deeply interested, I must confess that my zeal also was slackened.

At this very moment I do not know your plan of arrangement; but the words in your last letter of Nov. 24, 81, that *now* you are going to print are quite enough to arouse me of my stupor, and once more I am quite at your service.

Now, my dear friend, I have confessed, and I hope that you may give me the absolution.

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[1] For Olrik's interpretation of the line, see Child's *E. S. P. B.*, III, 502*a*: note to *King Orfeo.*

[2] See Child's letters of October 13, 1877, January 30, 1882, and January 18, 1883. He appears not to have explicitly accepted Grundtvig's classification before the letter of January 30, 1882.

It was my plan by and by to give you every information I could give when first I knew in which order *you* would arrange the ballads. I made *my* propositions for this arrangement but never got any hint from you, how you would have it.

The Wild Boar

I put at the top of the whole, as the most mythical ballad, in the very oldest style, though only very indifferently preserved. I remember, that I made a remark on the manner in which "the jovial hunter" had been entirely misunderstood by the editors of the Percy MSS.[1] I made I dare say some *previous* remarks on the connection which this ballad shows to other very old relics of popular fiction and tradition. I here think of the old High German fragment commencing *Sóse snêl snéllemo pegágenet ándermo;*[2] also of the story in *Mabinogion* of King Arthur's hunting the boar. A reminiscence of such stories we find in the comical romance of *The Felon Sowe* etc. But all such things you do not want my pointing out. What I have to do is to bring the Scandinavian materials for comparison which I have mentioned before.

The oldest form of this ballad is a Danish version, hitherto unprinted, found in a Jutland MS. from the later part of the 16th Century (Svaning's MS.).

Limgrises Vise[3]

This ballad in its present form is not genuine or really popular. It is in so far a production of the 16th Century. But it is founded on an older ballad. A localisation of the story is found in Thiele, *Danmarks Folkesagn* II, 19 in two different forms: 1, from oral tradition; 2, from an author of the 17th Century.

A Swedish fragment of the old ballad, but very incomplete and with a comical cut, is printed in Dybeck's *Runa* 1845, p. 23, from Dalarne. It is this:

1. *Det var en fattig bonde,*
   Som had' en liten gris.
De kalla honom Kolorigris.[4]

Another very similar fragment in M. Axelson's *Vesterdalarne*, p. 179. Mr. Sophus Bugge has in Telemark in Norway, found some verses very like these Swedish ones. The animal there is termed *Lósagrís*. I have not a copy of the verses at hand, else I should write them down here.

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[1] Another interpretation is that of "in (on) a *graine*" p. 75^{12}: Danish: *i en gren*. [Grundtvig's note. He is referring to *Sir Lionell* in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, 75, line 12. Danish: *i en gren:* "on a branch, a limb."]

[2] The Old High German verses may be found in Braune's *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch* (6th ed., Halle, 1907), p. 153.

[3] Grundtvig gives the full Danish text of this ballad, in sixty stanzas; it has since been printed: *DgF*, No. 518.

[4] Grundtvig gives the entire text of the ballad, in ten stanzas.

I perfectly know, that all this is of very little consequence to you; but as I have mentioned the parallels before, I thought it right, that you should see them as they are.[1]

Some time ago I sent you my little volume *Elveskud*. Now I send all yet printed of the last number of *DgF.* Vol. IV. Four more sheets will finish the volume. The rest of the *Tillæg* will be put at the end of Vol. V.

Hoping soon to hear from you that you are really printing, and reiterating my best wishes for a happy New Year to you, I remain, my dear friend and colleague,

Yours ever faithfully,

SVEND GRUNDTVIG.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 30, 1882.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE,

After so many delays and postponements, I may really say that printing has begun, but only *just* begun: and I fear the pace will not be a smart one at first, for the publishers have determined on what they call an edition de luxe, a heavy quarto, I fear, such as none of us could afford to buy, and mean to fortify themselves by subscribers. I am very indifferent as long as they reserve me copies enough for friends and helpers. I keep your book as a model before me and them in all respects (*pro viribus*) but I think their book will be clumsy. For such things I care little. My main object should be to put the *English ballads* before the world as completely as possible. Elucidations and comparisons should be a secondary matter. To do this, I have spent a great part of the long interval, since I first had the pleasure of a letter from you, in correspondence which had for its object the procuring of texts: and there are still three manuscripts (one of them collected early in the century, in the north of Scotland) which I cannot get the use of.

Your confessing amuses me much. It is I that should ask for assoiling, and especially if I have not said anything about the arrangement proposed by you. But you will understand that I have a lively sense what a burden unnecessary letters are to a man occupied as you are, and my chief wish has been that you should drive on the *G. F. v.*[2] So I have not written unless the object was definite and the motive strong. — But I certainly supposed that I had replied to your letter concerning the arrangement. I was only too glad to have *any* way proposed, and thought your suggestion a very convenient one, and have adopted it. I am compelled to separate some things which I should like to keep together. I do keep all the versions of a ballad which has even one two-line form, together, and I have felt tempted even to put *Erlinton* as the next number to *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight*, though no version is in two-line stanzas: but I have not. If I ever come to a second edition, I may modify the arrangement. I am unable to regard *Sir Lionel* as deserving the first place. I have four versions of that ballad (besides short fragments too) and, though the wild woman especially is an ancient and original feature, on the whole they do not go much beyond the story (of the second achievement) in *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, to which we may add one or two points from *Eger and Grahame.* So, on the whole, I have thought it best to place that ballad further on. I know nothing about the *Limgris*, had not noticed the traditions in Thiele, nor even the piggy in Dybeck, though I had just looked Dybeck through — which shows a want of observation as well as of investigation, of which you will be sure to note only too many instances in me. Thank you very much for your communications. — Now as to the order, I do not deviate far from that which you sketched, as far as I have gone, and when I deviate (excepting *Sir Lionel*) I do not think my reasons very material.

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[1] Child made use of the information in this letter in his introduction to No. 18: *Sir Lionel.* — For the Scandinavian works mentioned in the letter, see Child's Bibliography.

[2] *DgF.*

I begin with Riddle-ballads

1 *Riddles Wisely Expounded*
2 *Elfin Knight*
3 *Fause Knicht on the Road*
4 *Lady Isabel and E. K.*
5 *Gil Brenton*
6 *Willie's Lady*
6* Fairy Ballad from Shetland?[1]
7 *Earl Brand*
8 *Cruel Sister*
9 *Cruel Mother*
10 *Maid and Palmer*
11 "*Son Davie,*" etc.
12 *Lord Randal*
13 *Cruel Brother*
14 *Babylon*
15 *Fair Flower of Northumberland*
16 *Hynd Horn*
17 *Sir Lionel*
St Stephen
Boy and Mantle which I put in 2-line stanzas
Leesome Brand
Bonny Hynd
Sheath and Knife
Lizzie Wan
King's Dochter Jean all of one sort
Burd Ellen and Young Tamlane
Bonnie Annie
Three Ravens
Whummil Bore (a mere nothing)

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[1] *King Orfeo.*

I might put *Cruel Mother* after *Fair Flower* as No 13: thus

13 *Fair Flower*
14 *Cruel Mother*
15 *Maid and Palmer* } putting two legends together
16 *St Stephen*
17 *Sir Lionel*
18 *H. Horn*
19 *Boy and Mantle*

Most of these are as ready as I can stop to make them. *St Stephen* and *Boy and Mantle* are not.

The Fairy Ballad from the Shetland islands is a poor little waif, but interesting. To my great annoyance, the number of the *Leisure Hour* which contained it, and which I put in our library expressly for *safe*-keeping, has been mislaid, and hours of search have availed nothing. I expect at once to send to England again for the magazine. I will transmit the piece to you at the earliest moment.

I had some hope that you might know of some other copy of the little piece in Rancken's *Några Prof*, etc. which corresponds to the *False Knight on the Road*.

I shall send you with this mail a French translation of all the Polish ballads known to me that belong to the Ulinger cycle. I add a few scraps in the way of notes (such as I have found, more are destroyed), only to save a *little* trouble in your first reading and grouping of these ballads. When you are *entirely done* with the French translations (the rest is of no account) I should like to have them back. (*Your* post office will let them pass cheap *this* way, though from here they pretend to treat such matter as letters. I receive MSS. from England for a penny or two.) I don't care if you keep the things a year or two.

I ought to be very scrupulous about asking you to do any more for me. Please understand that I shall be most grateful for anything which you can send me: but on the other hand, please remember that I regard your going on with your magnificent work as of far more importance to the world than your helping me to better my much slighter work.

I will today simply ask your opinion upon one thing. There is a piece about Judas in *Reliquiæ Antiq.* I, 144. The MS. from which it was taken has been stolen and cannot be consulted. I do not know in what connection it stands, if in any.

This piece seems to me by its very nature lyrical, a legend like *St Stephen*, and a very singular one too. I have always meant to put it in with *Stephen*, and of course must do this on internal grounds only. Will you say how the piece strikes you. I enclose a copy to save you the trouble of getting the book, if it be not at hand. (I have no confidence in the accuracy of the texts in *R. A.*)

I have received *Elveskud*,[1] and the sheets of vol. IV, and the little ballad of the *Sea-Farers*.[1] For all, most warm thanks. Did you know that Thackeray wrote a most delightful comic ballad on this last topic, founded on recollections of the French. It is really more like the genuine Popular Ballads — corrupted by tradition — than any of the Jamieson or Scott imitations. I don't know whether it is printed in his works. T. used to sing it, and I have derived it from one who heard him. There are two sailors, gorging Jack and guzzling Jimmy, and at last they propose to kill and eat little Billee. It goes on

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[1] See the closing paragraphs of Grundtvig's letter of January 6, 1882.

"O let me say my catechism, *bis*
Which my dear granny taught to me," *bis*

Then up he sprang to the maintop, gallant mast, *bis*
And there fell down on bended knee, *bis*

He scarce had come to the 12th commandment,
When out he sang, "there's land I see."

"There's Jerusalem and Madagascar,
And North and South Amerikee.

"There's the British fleet a riding at anchor,
With Admiral Nelson K. C. B., and Sir Charles Napier G. C. B!!!"

Now when they got to the admiral's vessel,
They hanged up Jack and flogged Jimmy.

But as for little Billy, they made him (*bis*)
The captain of a seventy *three*
The captain of a seventy three–ee–ee!

(The air is diverting.) I return your wish for a happy New Year, and am ever your much bounden and faithful

F. J. Child.

Professor S. Grundtvig, Copenhagen.

April 4, 1882.

My dear Professor,

I explained in my last that the number of the *Leisure Hour* which contained this ballad[2] had been lost. I have now received it a second time from England, and send the copy in the hope that the second line of the burden, which is very dark to me, will be very clear to you. With best Easter greeting, I remain

Yours ever faithfully,

F. J. Child.

Professor S. Grundtvig,
Copenhagen.

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[1] Svend Grundtvig, *En Mærkelig Vise om de Søfarne Mænd*. An old Danish ballad, Kolozsvár, 1880. This is a small pamphlet, containing the Danish text, an English translation, and a few notes. For the ballad, see *DgF*, No. 537.

[2] *King Orfeo*.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 18, 1883.

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND,

I have received your beautiful little *Udvalg*,[1] a perfect treasure for your countrymen, and for others too. Have you seen as yet Part I of the nine-years-put-off English ballads?

You will see that I have indeed put the two line ballads first, but have printed all versions together in whatever meter. I have nevertheless felt compelled to put in *Erlinton* next to *Earl Brand*, for the reason that it would not be half intelligible if separated.

I regard my chief duty to be to give all the known texts and to give them pure. Consequently I pursue a manuscript, when I get scent of one, with as much tenacity as time has left me capable of. I have taken pains with the prefaces, but know (when I have not had you to draw upon) that they are very imperfect. I hope to make up my Slavic deficiencies through a young man who has taken up his residence in this town. But he cannot see with my eyes, and I cannot see with his.

I am most anxious that you should finish volume 4 and go on with the ballads of volume 5. I promise you that I will hurry to my utmost. I avoid society and give all time that is mine to Part II.

Wishing you health and strength and a happy New Year,

I remain yours ever faithfully,

F. J. CHILD.

COPENHAGEN 23–1–83.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE:

The day before yesterday was indeed a festival day to me. Then I received the first part of your great work — to be quoted often enough I hope by me as "Child P. B." to distinguish it from the simple "Child." —

I cannot tell you *how* overwhelmed and charmed I was, and I am, at seeing your beautiful volume before my eyes. But I must make haste to bring you my best thanks, and to beg your good pardon for any doubts I may have entertained as to the fulfilment of the long cherished hopes of seeing your design, so admirably and so carefully prepared, ever realized. I pray God that you may gain the top of the hill: the hill of all your eight volumes, and that you may have the pleasure to crown the top of that noble height with a supplementary monument of such marvellous new finds which your work will have called forth in the mean time.

I hope you will not misjudge my expression, when I say that I look upon your work with some feeling of paternal pride, and perhaps a bit of national vanity, seeing the plan and the principles of editing and illustrating popular ballads, fostered by me 35 years ago, now universally acknowledged and even carried into execution on the other side of the ocean. Now, that those same principles have been brought to bear upon the great treasure of the English and Scottish Ballads, I may venture to hope that they will be adopted in other countries also, on a similar or even a greater scale, and that so the ballad lore of the middle ages will be rescued and appreciated and be able to add a valuable contribution to the scientific knowledge and history of the nations. And then it will be a notorious fact in literary history that this movement took its origin in the little Denmark.

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[1] *Danmarks Folkeviser i Udvalg* (*A Select Collection of Danish Popular Ballads*), Copenhagen, 1882. See Grundtvig's letter of January 23, 1883.

Some short time ago I sent you a small volume entitled *Danmarks Folkeviser i Udvalg.* (In fact, only the first part; I hope another will follow in a year or two). You will see, that there I have taken great liberties, but you will understand the purpose with that book to be entirely another one than when we edit the old texts with the greatest possible accuracy. The small volume has met with a very hearty welcome in the public, and you will admit that this is also an aim worthy of possessing: to advance a common interest in the old national poetry. Only those two aims are never to be confused but to be left strictly out of one another's way. The confounding of the two has been only too common to the great misfortune of both, but especially to the ruin of the antiquarian and scientific purposes. — I send you now a small tract on the Faeroe Ballads and the Faeroe Language[1] which I think will be of some interest to you.

Last and first I send you my cordial congratulations at the first great step, with the best wishes for you and your work in the new year.

Always your faithful

SVEND GRUNDTVIG.

NB. "*oarlac*" in the burden of No. 19 is *årlig*, not in the modern sense of "yearly," but as commonly in the old ballads of *early*.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 18, 1883.

PROFESSOR SVEND GRUNDTVIG,
COPENHAGEN.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am very glad to hear that the first part of the English Ballads has reached you. I assure you you could never have been more in doubt as to whether my purpose would come to anything than I was myself. There is a certain fancied security in having one eighth in black and white, and thus much more than fancied security, that the publishers may be counted upon to goad me to the completion. I give them and the work all the time I have. They wished me to stop and make a selection for schools, but I have said, Let us at least finish another part. Whatever there may be that is not bad in the book is mostly the fruit of your book, and whatever is bad is my own. I fear that my saying that I have closely followed *D. g. F.* will not be widely understood to mean as much as it should. That *Advertisement* is not a Preface. I have reserved the Preface, and intend to speak of those to whose labors I am indebted, there, in a more explicit way. If I had been in Copenhagen, I should more than once have looked in at Platanvej 12 to ask your help. I have done the best I could, but I know enough of the matter to know that I am very much wanting in knowledge of the subject. I try to console myself by the thought that the *texts* are the main thing for the world of scholars, and those I have made every exertion to get, and feel comfortable in my conscience about, though it irks me unspeakably to think that we have only a small part of what once was, and that part often mutilated and corrupted.

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[1] Grundtvig's own "Meddelelser angående Færøernes Litteratur og Sprog," reprinted from *Årbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1882), pp. 357–372. In this article Grundtvig traces the entire story of the Faroe ballads, from the earliest collectors down to his own and J. Bloch's *Corpus Carminum Færoensium* and Bloch's Faroe Glossary. — A supplementary article is that of Axel Olrik, "Om Svend Grundtvigs og Jørgen Blochs Føroyjakvæði og færøske Ordbog," in *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi* VI (N. S. II), (1890), 246–261.

I have, besides your beautiful first volume of the ballads for popular reading, the article on the Faeroe ballads and language — a most valuable gift to me. But are not those ballads to be printed? Never? Why cannot one of the societies undertake that by itself — or why should there not be an association for the purpose? Nothing should take *you* off from the *D. g. F.*, but surely some man might be found, capable of seeing the texts through the press.

I want a word from you, if you have the time to spare, upon one of the Svabo[1] ballads, *Geipa-Táttur*, "Heft III, p. 18," according to Kölbing. *Imprimis*, is this the only Faeroe version known?

(2) The two white-bears, twelve wolf-dogs, and the poison-spring *á golvi* — these must "belong" to another ballad. I have an impression, which I do not trust, of having seen this passage elsewhere.

(3) Kölbing translates (*Germania* XX, 237)[2] "*báðar detta hvítabjörnir steindyr niður": von den Steinthüren herabfallen*, but does it not mean *zu Steinthieren werden?* Any light you can give me on that ballad will be most welcome. I have all that the Germans and French have said about the *Karls Reise*. The English has made an almost entirely different ballad upon the old French story, and I am particularly sorry that that ballad should have been in the part of the MS. which lighted fires.[3]

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[1] See p. 173 of this volume and pp. 280–281 of my *Ballad Criticism*. J. C. Svabo made a collection of Faroe ballads in the latter part of the eighteenth century, still preserved in manuscript in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. The *Geipa-Táttur* is a Faroe ballad connected with the Charlemagne cycle. Hammershaimb has printed a Svabo version, *Færösk Anthologi*, vol. I.

[2] The Kölbing article is a review of two works by Gustav Storm, the one in point here being *Sagnkredsene om Karl den Store og Didrik af Bern hos de nordiske Folk*, Kristiania, 1874.

[3] On the *Geipa-Táttur*, Kölbing's remarks, Storm's work, and other pertinent

I hope I may depend upon you to set me right when I have gone wrong, and to note my little as well as greater trips. I wish to insert corrections at the end of Part II. — With constant best wishes and thanks,

Ever yours faithfully,

F. J. CHILD.[1]

PLATANVEJ, COPENHAGEN.
The 4th of April, 1883.

MY DEAR FRIEND!

Your very kind and very flattering letter of Feb. 18th was duly received. You put some questions with regard to the Faeroe *Geipa-Táttur*: (1) is this the only F. version known? (2) the whitebears are loans from another ballad? which? (3) Kölbing's translation of "*báðar detta hvitabjörnir*," etc. "Any light you can give me upon that ballad will be most welcome."

Answers:

(1) There are four Faeroe versions of which I subjoin transcripts for a comparative study. When you have used them, you may as well return them to me, as they might be of further use to me.[2]

(2) The whitebears in *DgF* 71, answering to the wild dogs in *Fjölsvinnsmál* (the original of *DgF* 70).

(3) Kölbing is wrong: *steindeyðir*: stonedead, is the correct reading. You write that you have "all that the Germans and French have said about the *Karls Reise*." But do you also know Eduard Koschwitz, *Karls des grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel. Ein altfranzösischer Gedicht des XI. Jahrhunderts*, publ. as 2nd vol. of Wendelin Foerster, *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*. Heilbronn 1880 (this only the old French poem, new collation, with *Einleitung* and *Glossar*) and E. Koschwitz: *Sechs Bearbeitungen des altfranzös. Ged. von K. d. G. Reise*, etc. Heilbronn 1879. (the Welsh *Ystoria Charles* with English translation; 3 French texts, the Icelandic *Geiplur* and the Faeroe *Geipa-Táttur* A, publ. by Kölbing, by no means correctly)? I should not think so, since you only mention Kölbing article in *Germania* XX. from 1875; he knew of course the *Karlamagnus saga* and also perhaps the Danish stall print. But since then the Danish text has been printed from a MS. of 1840 and the oldest print of 1501, published in C. J. Brandt's

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matters, see Child's introduction to *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, *E. S. P. B.*, I, 274 ff. — The "MS which lighted fires" is the *Percy Folio MS*, which because of the mutilation of the MS, contains only a fragmentary text of *King Arthur and the King of Cornwall;* see *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, 59 ff.

[1] Grundtvig endorsed this letter: *Svar med Geipa-Táttur i alle fire texter* 4/4 83: "Answer, with *Geipa-Táttur* in all four versions 4/4/ 83."

[2] Grundtvig's transcript of the four versions of the *Geipa-Táttur*, arranged in parallel columns, has been preserved in vol. XXII of the Child MSS, p. 176, where also the original of this letter is on file, p. 177.

Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen III. (Copenhagen 1877.) The common Danish text of *Karl Magnus Krønike* is a revision of the older one made by Christiern Pedersen first printed 1534 (reprinted in C. J. Brandt, *Chr. P.'s Skrifter* V, Copenhagen 1856).

It is quite true what G. Storm has shown, that in some places the Faeroe Ballad has been influenced by the Danish Stall Prints, but the foundation of it must be another, some form of the Icelandic saga.

As I do not know to what extent you may want information with regard to the Faeroe Ballad texts, I will add no further on the present, always ready to give you any information that stands in my small power.[1]

Receive, my dear friend, my best greetings and most hearty wishes for you and for your excellent work so gloriously undertaken.

Ever yours faithfully,

SVEND GRUNDTVIG.[2]

APPENDIX B

THE GRUNDTVIG–CHILD INDEX OF ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH POPULAR BALLADS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

AMONG Svend Grundtvig's papers in the Danish Folklore Collection (Dansk Folkemindesamling) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen there are preserved several indexes of English and Scottish ballads formed at various times during his long occupation with the subject.[3] Although one of these is dated as early as 1843, even it is probably not his first list of the kind, since his ballad studies began some years before this time. Three separate indexes of a later period, however, have a greater permanent interest. One of the number, dated 1850, appears to have been a general reference catalog designed for his own use. It consists of 185 titles, with an alphabetical series of versions under each title, with designations of the manuscript or printed source in each case, and with marginal annotations of Scandinavian parallels or analogues. Motherwell's *Minstrelsy* seems to have provided the basis for the list; numerous other English and Scottish sources subsequently find a place in the record, and eventually Child's first collection, the *English and Scottish Ballads*. The composition of this working catalog thus spans something more than a decade, since Grundtvig did not know of Child's collection until 1861.[1] This list will be designated as *Index A*.

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[1] Child incorporated much of the material of this letter in his introduction to *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, *E. S. P. B.*, No. 30.

[2] So far as I know, this is the last letter in the correspondence. Grundtvig died July 14, 1883.

[3] The Royal Library number of this packet is *DFS 69 A*.

While *Index A* was in process of compilation, or shortly afterward, Grundtvig prepared an *Index B* after much the same pattern. At the head appears the following explanatory note: "From my *Index A* of English and Scottish ballads the following have been excluded, out of different reasons, partly because they were of too local a character, as the Border ballads, partly as decidedly political pieces, some also while they seemed to be of too recent a date or were of a doubtful antiquity." The array of titles in full, not including the lettered versions and the sources, runs thus:

Dick o' the Cow, *Jock o' the Side*, *Hobbie Noble*, *Hughie Græme*, *Lord Ewrie*, *The Lochmaben Harper*, *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead*, *Kinmont Willie*, *Bartram's Dirge*, *The Lads of Wamphray*, *The Battle of Philiphaugh*, *The Battle of Pentland Hills*, *The Battle of Loudon Hill*, *The Battle of Bothwell Bridge*, *Græme and Bewick*, *The Trumpeter of Fyvie*, *The Death of Queen Jane*, *The Bonny House of Airly*, *Lord Derwentwater*, *The Laird of Muirhead*, *The Battle of Floddon Field*, *Chevy Chase*, *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*, *Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and Will. Cloudesley*, *The Rising in the North*, *Northumberland Betrayed*, *Rookhope Ryde*, *Robin Hood and the Old Man*, *Robin Hood and the Widow's Three Sons*, *Robin Hood and the Monk*, *Bonnie George Campbell*, *Robin, Lend to me thine Bow*, *The Marriage of Sir Gawaine*, *King Arthur's Death*, *The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington*, *Lady Isabella's Tragedy*, *Young Peggy*, *Lord Henry and Fair Eleanor*, *Lady Mary Ann*, *Carol for St. Stephen's Day*, *The Battle of Corichie*, *The West Country Damosel's Complaint*, *Bessie Bell and Mary Gray*, *The Hawthorn-Tree*, *Glenlogie*, *John o' Hazelgreen*, *The Fause Lover*, *King John and the Abbot*, *The Duke of Gordon's Daughters*, *The Battle of Harlaw*, *John Seton*, *The Death of Parcy Reed*, *Willie Macintosh and the Burning of Auchindown*, *Gilderoy*, *The Murder of the King of Scots* (*Darnley*), *Sir John Suckling's Campaign*, *Rob Roy*, *Get Up and Bar the Door*, *Sir Andrew Barton*, *King Edward the Fourth and the Tanner of Tamworth*, *Sir John Butler*, *The Battle of Alford*.[2]

The correspondence between Grundtvig and Child had not been long in progress before Child expressed the wish that Grundtvig would make for him a complete list of English and Scottish ballads in a sequence suitable for publication. Grundtvig in the course of time sent the desired schematic arrangement in two instalments, the first with a letter dated August 25, 1877, and the second with a letter of January 29, 1880. Only two fragments of the whole scheme appear to have survived among Child's papers, comprising Nos. 12, 13, 14, 179, 180, 181, and a part of No. 11, out of the full count of 269 titles. Fortunately Grundtvig kept for himself a draft or copy of the entire list, the identity of which is established by the substantial agreement between the fragments found among Child's manuscripts and the corresponding numbers in the copy that Grundtvig retained in his own files. In presenting the full text of Grundtvig's copy, printed below from a photostatic reproduction of Grundtvig's manuscript, as extant in the Danish Folklore Collection of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, I feel, therefore, all reasonable assurance in designating it as the *Grundtvig–Child Index* of English and Scottish Popular Ballads. Documentary evidence leads to the conclusion that Grundtvig further elaborated the manuscript intended for Child, through the addition of complete texts of various Danish ballads, critical references, and the like. Nevertheless, the fundamental framework of the index, the very number and the very order of titles and of versions in the list that came into Child's hands were in all likelihood the same as those exhibited in the following pages.

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[1] See Grundtvig's first letter to Child.

[2] In a marginal note Grundtvig ranges the Robin Hood ballads as a group (*E. S. B.*, vol. V) under *Index B*. I expect to publish *Index B* in its entirety as a separate article in the near future. I do not at present intend to publish *Index A*.

The *Grundtvig–Child Index* was compiled for the most part from *Index A* and *Index B*. A study of the numerical plan employed by Grundtvig will make that fact clear. Subsequent to the titles in the printed index will be found in almost every case a numeral, often a letter and a numeral, in brackets. These refer to the serial order in Grundtvig's *Index A* or *Index B*; thus, a bracketed No. 87 means that the title in question had that number in *Index A*, and a bracketed B. 48 means that the title had the number 48 in *Index B*. These bracketed indicators were not transmitted to Child; I have included them here because they are found in Grundtvig's home copy and because they may have some utility for future reference. More important, perhaps, they possess no small critical interest, since they show that Grundtvig, in editing his canon for Child, restored to favor a large number of titles which he had previously relegated to a dubious category in *Index B*.

The critical history of, let us say, *Lord Derwentwater*, would then be somewhat as follows: Grundtvig considered the ballad for *Index A*; on second thought, he banished it to *Index B*; on renewed consideration, he restored it to the *Grundtvig–Child Index*; and Child eventually printed it. In just how many instances Grundtvig's change of opinion may have induced Child to recognize a ballad which he had before regarded as doubtful cannot be known. On the whole, however, Grundtvig's index as sent to Child exercised a considerable influence on the formation of the canon of English balladry.

At the right of the page I have supplied bracketed references to *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads.* By these references I have meant to indicate the number of cases in which ballads listed in the index are actually represented in Child's volumes, possibly under a different title; and the number of cases in which the individual version from a given source is actually common to the index and to the *E. S. P. B.* Where bracketed references are wanting in my own column, it is therefore to be understood that a ballad or a version, as the case may be, listed by Grundtvig, was not in fact employed by Child, whatever the reasons may have been. I have undertaken no extensive collation of texts; my method has extended no further than to ascertaining Child's number for the several ballads in the index, and to checking Grundtvig's sources and versions against the printed array of sources and versions immediately below each title in the *E. S. P. B.* My scheme, consequently, will not take into account the rather frequent instances where, for example, Grundtvig cites Motherwell's *Minstrelsy* as a source, while Child cites the parent version from Motherwell's manuscript; I have limited my bracketed references to those instances in which the two editors list not only the same ballad, but the same source, the same version. I grant that the application of the system may be imperfect. Nevertheless, a glance at the bracketed columns at the right of the page will show with substantial accuracy the factual relation between the index and the *E. S. P. B.*

I have said elsewhere that Child adopted in its main features Grundtvig's plan, exemplified in the index, of arranging the English and Scottish ballads in order according to their stanzaic form, an arrangement which, according to Grundtvig's theory, would be roughly chronological.[1] On these premises it would follow that my bracketed references to the *E. S. P. B.* ought to exhibit an arithmetical progression from lower to higher numbers. Inspection will make it clear that the progression is only approximate. It is proper to explain that Grundtvig's theory implied a chronological order of larger groups, three in number, determined by stanzaic form; he had no intention of applying the chronological yardstick rigorously to individual numbers within those groups. Furthermore, Child eventually discovered many versions unknown to Grundtvig, of which not a few were older than those upon which Grundtvig based his stanzaic classification. More than that, Grundtvig's versions were in the greater number of instances drawn from books, the editors of which may have been as little inclined to respect an original stanza form as an original reading of the text; Child, on the other hand, drew in large degree upon manuscripts, in which the stanza form may have been quite different for the same ballad. Altogether, therefore, it may be granted that the stanzaic picture must have presented itself to Child in quite another total light than to Grundtvig. These circumstances, as well as other possible reasons for Child's departing from the order suggested by Grundtvig, must be kept in mind if we are to judge correctly the extent to which Child followed the sequence proposed in the index.[1]

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[1] See Grundtvig's letter of August 25, 1877.

With the exception of the bracketed numbers following closely upon the titles and with the further exception of a few brackets identified as belonging to Grundtvig, all of the brackets are my own.

For Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, the abbreviation *E. S. P. B.* is used. For Grundtvig's *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, *DgF.*

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[1] See Child's letter of January 30, 1882.

GRUNDTVIG-CHILD INDEX[1]

FIRST CLASS

1. *The Wild Boar* [177]. (Child,[2] VIII, 144.) [18]

A. *Percy* [*Folio*] *MS.*,[3] I, 75. [18 A.]

Sir Egrabel had sonnes three
— Blow thy horn, good hunter —
Sir Lionel was one of they.
— As I am a gentle hunter.

B. Bell,[4] p. 125. [18 Cb.]

Old Sir Robert Bolton had three sons,
— Wind well thy horn, good hunter —
And one of them was Sir Ryalas.
— For he was a jovial hunter.

C. Bell, p. 250. [18 Ea.]

There was an old man, and sons he had three,
— Wind well thy horn ["Lion"] [5] good hunter.

(*Indholdet af B misforstået i udgaven af Percy MS.: "the wild woman" — svarende til Grendels moder i Beowulf — er ikke samme person som "the gay lady," som hun endogså kræver som sit bytte.*[6])

2. *The Elfin Knight* [96]. (Child, I, 128. 277.) [2]

A. Motherwell's Appendix, p. i. [2 A.]

My plaid awa, my plaid awa, etc.
(*er stevstamme, sættes foran*) [7]
The elfin knight sits on yon hill,
— Ba ba ba lilli ba —
He blows his horn both loud and shrill.
The wind hath blown my plaid awa. —

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[1] The bracketed numbers to the right refer to Child's final edition, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads.*

[2] Child's *English and Scottish Ballads;* thus hereafter in all cases in which Grundtvig refers to Child.

[3] *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. Hales and Furnivall.

[4] Bell, Robert, *Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England.*

[5] Grundtvig brackets the word "Lion."

[6] "The contents of B have been misunderstood by the editors of the Percy MS.: 'the wild woman' — answering to Grendel's mother in *Beowulf* — is not the same person as 'the gay lady,' whom she even demands as her prey."

[7] "The chief element in the refrain, to be placed first."

B. Webster.[1] [2 B.]

The elfin knight sits on yon hill.

C. Buchan, II, 296. [2 D.]

The elfin knight stands on yon hill,
— Blaw, blaw, blaw, winds, blaw —
Blawing his horn loud and shrill.
— And the wind has blawn my plaid awa.

D. Kinloch, p. 145. [2 C.]

There stands a knicht at the tap o' yon hill,
— Oure the hills and far awa —
He has blawn his horn loud and shrill.
— The cauld wind's blawn my plaid awa.

3. *The Knight's Question* [120]. (Child, VIII, 18.) (Cf. *DgF*, 18.) [1]

A. Gilbert,[2] p. 65. [1 B.]

There were three sisters fair and bright,
— Jennifer gentle and rosemaree —
And they three loved one valiant knight.
— And the dew flies over the mulberry tree.

B. Flysheet. *Pills to Purge Melancholy.* [1 A.]

There was a lady in the North country,
— Lay the bent to the bonny broom —
And she had lovely daughters three.
— Fa la la la, fa la la la, ra re.

4. *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* [126]. (Child, I, 195. *DgF*, 183.) [4]

Buchan, I, 22. [4 A.]

Fair Lady Isabel sits in her bower sewing,
— Aye as the gowans grow gay —
Then she heard an elf-knight his horn blowing.
— The first morning in May.

5. *The Cruel Sister* [66]. (Child, II, 231. 233. 357. 360.) (*DgF*, 95.) [10]

A. Rimbault. Jamieson. *Wit Restored.* Flysheet of 1656–58. [10 A.]

There were two sisters they went a-playing,
— With a high down down a down a—
To see their father's ships sailing in.
— With a high down down a down a.

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[1] *A Collection of Curious Old Ballads.*

[2] *Christmas Carols*, 2nd edition.

B. Scott's *Minstrelsy*. [10 C.]

There were two sisters, sat in a bower,
— Binnorie, O Binnorie —
There came a knight to be their wooer.
— By the bonny milldams o' Binnorie.

C. Jamieson, I, 50. [10 Bd.]
D. Sharpe, No. 10. [10 E.]
E. Buchan, II, 128. [10 Oa.]
F. *Notes and Queries*,[1] VI, 102. [10 Ra.]
G. *Notes and Queries*,[1] V, 316. [10 La.]
H. Pinkerton [*Select Scottish Ballads*], I, 102. [10 N.(?)]

6. *The Cruel Mother* [32]. *Utr.* LXXIV [Unprinted, LXXIV].[2] (Child, I, 262. 265. 267. 269. 372. 376.) [20]

A. Herd,[3] 2nd ed., II, 237. [20 A.]

B. Johnson's *Museum*. [20 Ba.]

She sat down below a thorn,
— Fine flowers in the valley —
And there she has her sweet bairn born.
— And the green leaves they grow rarely.

C. Motherwell. [20 C.]

She leaned her back unto a thorn,
— Three, three, and three by three —
And there she has her two babes born.
— Three, three, and thirty-three.

D. Kinloch. *Notes and Queries*, VIII. [20 Db.]

There lives a lady in London,
— All alone and alonie —
She's gane wi' bairn to the clerk's son.
— Down by the greenwood sae bonnie.

E. Buchan, II, 222. Dixon. [20 Fb.]

It fell ance upon a day.

F. Buchan, II, 217. Dixon. [20 Ib.]

The minister's daughter o' Newark.

G. Scott's *Minstrelsy*. [20, Appendix.]

Fair Lady Anne sat in her bower
(*4 linjet* [four-lined]).

First series.

[2] I take this to mean a reference to a numbered list of unprinted Danish ballads.

[3] *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, 2nd ed., 1776.

(Cf. *Gl. Minder,*[1] III, No. 6, *Præstekonen.* E. T. K[ristensen], *Jyske Folkem.[inder]*, I, No. 121 *og s.* [and p.] 360–361. *Flere tyske opskrr. af visen* [Several German versions of the ballad]. *2 danske opskrr. siden tilkomne* [Two Danish versions since come to hand]).

7. *Willie's Lady* [56]. (Child, I, 162.) [6]
A. Lewis, III, 106.
B. Scott, II, 398. } in fact only one text.
C. Jamieson, II, 367.
[On Child's relation to A, B, and C, see the introduction to his No. 6.]

(Cf. Jamieson, II, 178. Aytoun, I, 205.) = *DgF*, 84. Kristensen, *Folkeminder*, I, No. 74; II, No. 35. *Svenska Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift*, II, 72.

8. *Brave Earl Brand* [179]. (Child, II, 388.) [7]
Bell, p. 132. [7 Ac.]
(= *DgF*, 82.)

9. *Hynd Horn* [99]. (Child, IV, 17. 25.) [17]
A. Motherwell, p. 35.
B. Kinloch, p. 135. [17 G.]
C. Buchan, II, 268. [17 H.]
D. Cromek, *Select Songs*. [17 D.]
(Cf. Aytoun, II, 338.)

10. *Bonnie Banks of Fordie* [100]. (Child, II, 277. 281.) [14]
A. Motherwell, p. 88. [14 Aa.]
B. Kinloch, p. 210. [14 E.]
(Cf. Aytoun, I, 159.)
Dansk [Danish]: Abr[ahamson], 164. *Mange utr. opskrifter efter trad.* [Many unprinted versions from tradition]. Alex. Prior, No. 137.
Norsk [Norwegian]: *traditjon, utr.* [From tradition, unprinted].
Svensk [Swedish]: Afz[elius], 98. Arw[idsson], 166.
Færøsk [Faroe]: Lyngbye, p. 534.
Islandsk [Icelandic]: *Ísl. Fornkv.*, 15: *Vallara kvæði*, A–G.
(*Lokaliseret på mindst 7 Steder i Dansk:* [Localized in at least seven places in Danish].)

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[1] A collection of Grundtvig's own.

11. *The Cruel Brother* [17]. (Child, II, 251. 257. 368.)	[11]
A. Herd, I, 88.	[11 Gb.]
B. Jamieson, I, 66.	[11 Ab.]
C. Gilbert's *Christmas Carols*, p. 68. Bell, p. 50. (Cf. Aytoun, I, 232.)	[11 F.]
Svensk: Afz., 68.	
Arw., 88.	
12. *The Broom Blooms Bonnie* [37].	[16]
A. Johnson's *Museum*, p. 461.	[16 C.]
B. Motherwell, p. 189.	[16 Ab.]
13. *The Fratricide* [7]. (Child, II, 225. 228.)	[13]
A. Motherwell, p. 340.	[13 Ab.]
B. Percy's *Reliques* (*Edward*).	[13 B.]
Svensk: Afz., 67. Arw., 87.	
Dansk: Mine Eng. og sk. Folkev. [Grundtvig's own *Engelske og skotske Folkeviser*], p. 175.	
14. *The Poisoned Boy* (*Knight*) [35]. (Child, II, 244. 248. 363.)	[12]
A. Johnson's *Museum*, No. 227.	[12 F.]
B. Scott, II, 261.	
C. Kinloch, p. 109.	[12 B.]
D. Buchan, II, 179.	[12 L.]
E. *Illustr. of North. Antiq.*, p. 319.	[12 G.]
F. Laing's edit. of Johnson's *Museum*, p. 227.	[12 Kc.]
G. Chambers' *Ballads*, p. 324.	[12 Ka.]
Tysk [German]. *Slavisk* [Slavic]. *Svensk. Dansk.* (*Utr.* C [Unprinted, C (No. 100)]).	
15. *The Ungrateful Knight* [40]. (Child, IV, 180. 292.)	[9]
A. Ritson's *Anc. Songs.*	[9 Ab.]
B. Kinloch, p. 131.	[9 Bb.]
C. Buchan, II, 208.	[9 Cb.]
D. Sheldon [*Minstrelsy of the English Border*], p. 207]. Richardson's *Table Book.*	
(Cf. *DgF*, 249.)	
16. *Burd Ellen and Young Tamlane* [89]. (Child, I, 271.)	[28]
Maidment's [*North Countrie*] *Garland*, p. 21.	[28]

17. *Blue Flower and Yellow* [144]. [25]
Buchan, I, 185. [25 Ba.]
(= *Dansk: Levn[inger*, 1784], II, 7, *hvorom før udførlig til Child:* [on which explicit information already sent to Child].)[1]

18. *Bride but not Maiden* [16]. (Child, I, 152. 158. 288.) [5]
A. Herd, I, 83.
B. Scott, III, 52.
C. Buchan, I, 204. [5 D.]
Dansk: Syv, 62. Abr[ahamson], 194.
Kr[istensen, *Jydske Folkeviser*], I, 53.
Svensk: Afz., 39. II, p. 217.
(Cf. Aytoun, II, 85.)

19. *The Ravens* [39]. (Child, III, 59. 61.) [26]
A. Ritson's *Anc. Songs*.
B. Scott, II, p. 214.
C. *Albyn's Anthology*.
(Cf. Motherwell, p. 7. Aytoun, II, 43.)

20. *Bonnie Annie* [94]. (Child, III, 47.) [24]
Kinloch, p. 123. [24 A.]

21. *The False Knight Upon the Road* [122]. (Child, VIII, 269.) [3]
Motherwell, Introd., p. lxxiv. [3 A.]

22. *The Whummil Bore* [123]. [27]

Seven lang years I have served the king,
— Fa fa falilly —
And I ne'er gat a sight of his dochter but ane.
With my glimpy, glimpy, glimpy eedle,
Lillum too a tee too a tally.

Motherwell's Musick, No. 3 [*Minstrelsy:* Appendix, p. xvi].
(Cf. *Dansk:* Abr[ahamson], 46, *hvorom tidligere tilskrevet* Child: [on which already written to Child].)

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[1] Grundtvig refers here to the extensive notes on Buchan's *Ancient Ballads and Songs*, which he sent to Child with his letter of March 25, 1874; he adverts to these notes on several occasions under subsequent numbers where versions from Buchan are adduced.

SECOND CLASS (*four-lined metre*)

23. *King Arthur and the King of Cornwall* [181]. (Child, I, 231.) [30]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 59. [30]
(This old minstrel ballad has come to us only in a very sorry state; but it is clear that it once was in the regular old ballad metre, though now in many places it has been altered so that the second and fourth line have got four instead of three feet.)
Between 23 and 24 or perhaps after 25 might be put No. 269.

24. *The Boy and the Mantle* [182]. (Child, I, 3.) [29]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, II, 301. [29]
(This old minstrel ballad has many signs of antiquity, and seems once to have been alliterated all through.)

25. *The Marriage of Sir Gawayne* [B. 32]. (Child, I, 28.) [31]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 103. [31]

26. *King Henrie* [63]. (Child, I, 147.) [32]
A. Jamieson, II, 194.
B. Scott, III, 69.
(Cf. *DgF*, 59.)

27. *Sir Cauline* [113]. (Child, III, 173. 378.) [61]
A. *Percy* [*Folio*] *MS.*, III, 1. [61]
B. Buchan, II, 6

28. *Young Ronald* [172]. [304]
Buchan, II, 282. [304]
(See Motherwell's Introduction, pp. lvii–lviii. Jamieson's *Illustr*[*ations of Northern Antiquities*]. Kinloch, p. 225. — Cf. *DgF*, 26.)

29. *Young Hasting* [170].
Buchan, II, 262.
("The unclean men of *Ha' broom*" = the Abra[ha][1]m men of the middle ages: the lepers.)

30. *King Estmere* [114]. (Child, III, 159.) [60]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, II, 200. 600.
(See *DgF*, IV, 709–712.)

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[1] Grundtvig's brackets.

31. *Hynde Etin* [98. 104]. (Child, I, 179. 189. 294.) [41]
A. Buchan, I, 6. [41 A.]
B. Kinloch, p. 225. [41 B.]
C. Motherwell, p. 287. Buchan, II, 67. [41 C.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 37.)

32. *Young Tamlane* [26]. (Child, I, 114. 258. 267.) [39]
A. Herd, I, 157.
B. Johnson's *Museum*, No. 411. [39 A.]
C. Scott, II, 109.
D. Dixon, *Scott. Ball.*, No. 2.
E. Maidment's *New Book of Ball.*, p. 54. [39 Db.]
(Child, I, 271, from Maidment's *Garland*, is quite another ballad.)

33. *Child Rowland and Burd Ellen* [175]. (Child, I, 245.) [Vol. V, p. 201.]
Jamieson's Introduct. [*Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*], p. 398. *Pop. Ball.*, I, 217.
(Cf. *DgF*, 41.)

34. *Sir Aldingar* [48]. (Child, III, 234. 253.) [59]
A. *Percy* [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 165. [59 A.]
B. Scott, II, 269.
(Cf. *DgF*, 13.)

35. *Sir Patrick Spence* [8]. (Child, III, 147. 152. 338.) [58]
A. *Reliques*, I, 1, No. 7. [58 Aa.]
B. Scott, I, 3. Motherwell, p. 9.
C. Jamieson I, 157. [58 G.]
D. Buchan, I, 1. [58 I.]
E. Finlay, I, 45.
F. Finlay, Introduction, p. xiv. [58 Q.]
(Dixon's assertion, *Scott. Trad. Versions*, p. xi, that this ballad was composed by Lady Wardlaw, is unworthy of any belief.)
(Cf. the Danish ballad: Vedel, III, 2. Abr. 92. Kristensen, I, 6. 119. — Afz., 36. Arw., 67. Landstad, 82.
The Scandinavian ballad still closer connected with *Brown Robyn's Confession*, Buchan, I, 110.)

36. *The Dæmon Lover* [58]. (Child, I, 201. 205. 302.) [243]
A. Motherwell, p. 92 (note). [243 G.]
B. Scott, II, 427. [243 F.]
C. Buchan, I, 214. [243 C.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 39.)

37. *The Earl of Mar's Daughter* [135]. (Child, I, 171.)	[270]
Buchan, I, 49.	[270]
(Cf. *DgF*, 68.)	
38. *Fair Mabel of Wallington* [41].	[91]
A. Ritson's *Northumb. Garl.*, No. 2.	
B. Buchan, I, 183.	[91 Fa.]
(Danish, see my first series of contributions, March, 1874.)[1]	
39. *The Child of Elle* [115]. (Child, III, 224.)	[7]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 132.	[7 F.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 82.)	
40. *The Douglas Tragedy* [45]. (Child, II, 114.)	[7]
A. Scott.	[7 B.]
B. Motherwell, p. 180.	[7 E.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 82.)	
41. *Brown Robyn's Confession* [139].	[57]
Buchan, I, 110.	[57]
(See my first series of contributions.)	
Vedel, III, 2.	
42. *Young Allan* [155].	[245]
Buchan, II, 11.	[245 C.]
(See 41 and 35. Vedel, III, 2.)	
43. *Young Benjie* (*Bondsey*) [46]. (Child, II, 298. 379.)	[86]
A. Scott.	[86 A.]
B. Buchan.	[86 B.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 198.)	
44. *The Two Magicians* [129].	[44]
Buchan, I, 24.	[44]
(See my first series of contributions.)	
45. *Sweet William's Ghost* [2]. (Child, II, 145. 149. 152.)	[77]
A. Ramsay. Percy.	[77 A.]
B. Motherwell.	[77 C.]
C. Kinloch.	[77 E.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 90.)	
46. *Clerk Saunders* [57]. (Child, II, 45. 318.)	[69]
A. Scott.	
B. Jamieson.	[69 F.]
C. Kinloch, p. 233.	[69 C.]

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[1] Grundtvig's notes on Buchan, sent to Child with his letter of March 25, 1874; so hereafter, in cases where Grundtvig makes a similar reference.

D. Buchan, I, 160.	[69 G.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 90, and also Syv, 75. Abr., 204.Afz., 86, do. III, 109. Arw., 55. *Ísl*[*enzk*] *fornkv*[*æði*], 34. Bugge, No. 24.	
See Liebrecht in *Gött. gel. Anzeiger*, 1873, p. 205, etc., etc.)	
47. *Charles Græme* [138].	[Vol. IV, p. 475.]
Buchan, I, 89.	[Vol. IV, p. 475.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 90.)	
48. *The Wife of Usher's Well* [62]. (Child, I, 213.)	[79]
Scott.	[79 A.]
49. *Proud Lady Margaret* [47]. (Child, VIII, 83. 272.)	[47]
A. Scott.	[47 A.]
B. Buchan.	[47 Ba.]
C. Dixon, *Scott. Ball.*, No. 5.	
50. *Willie's Fatal Visit* [112. 169].	[255]
A. Pinkerton [*Select Scottish Ballads*], II, 153.	
B. Buchan, II, 259.	[255]
51. *Sir Roland* [125]. (Child, I, 233.)	
Motherwell [p. 124].	
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52. *St. Stephen and King Herod* [B. 39]. (Child, I, 311.)	[22]
A. Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, II, No. 11.	
B. Sandys' *Christmas Carols*.	
(Cf. *DgF*, 96.)	
53. *Child Morrice* [12]. (Child, II, 28, 40, 313.)	[83]
A. *Percy* [*Folio*] *MS.*, II, 500.	[83 A.]
B. Motherwell, p. 269.	[83 E.]
C. Motherwell, p. 282.	[83 B.]
D. Aytoun, I, 149.	
E. *Reliques*, III, 1, No. 18.	[83 Fa.]
54. *Lord Barnard and Little Musgrave* [77]. (Child, II, 15. 22. 307.)	[81]
A. *Wit Restored*.	[81 Aa.]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 119.	[81 B.]
B. Jamieson. Child, II, 22.	
C. Jamieson. Child, II, 307.	[81 F.]
D. Dixon, *Scott. Ball.*, No. 3.	[81 L.]
55. *Old Robin of Portingale* [117]. (Child, III, 34.)	[80]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 235.	[80]

56. *Glasgerion* (*The Harper's Love*) [72]. (Child, II, 3. 8.) [67]
A. *Percy* [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 246. [67 A.]
B. Jamieson. [67 B.]

57. *The Tender Bride* [28]. (Child, II, 86. 93. 332.) [64]
A. Herd, I, 112.
B. Finlay, II, 62. [64 G.]
C. Sharpe's *Ballad Book.* Motherwell, 139. [64 A.]
D. Buchan, I, 97. [64 F.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 126.)

58. *Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor* [13. 14]. (Child, II, 121. 125, 131. 140.) [73]
A–D. (See *DgF*, 210. Cf. Kristensen, II, No. 20.)

59. *Lord Lovel* [93]. (Child, II, 162.) [75]
A. Kinloch, p. 31. [75 D.]
B. Dixon, p. 78. [75 H.]
Bell, p. 127.
(Appendix:[1] Details on Danish *Utr.* [unprinted], 227. II. VII. X and all the parallels, Scandinavian and otherwise.)

60. *The Laird Murdered by His Leman* [23]. (Child, III, 3. 10. 13. 18. 295.) [68]
A–F. (See *DgF*, 208.)

61. *The Lady on the Stake* [71. 102]. (Child, II, 78. 338.) [65]
A. Jamieson, I, 73. [65 A.]
B. Motherwell, p. 234. [65 E.]
C. Buchan, I, 103. [65 H.]
D. *Scots Magazine*, June, 1822. [65 F.]
E. Maidment's *Garland.*
F. Motherwell, p. 221.
(Cf. No. 46, *Clerk Saunders*, B.)

62. *The Lass of Lochroyan* [24]. [76]
A. Jamieson. Child, II, 98. [76 D.]
B. Scott. Child, II, 106.
C. Herd, I, 149. [76 B.]
D. Johnson's *Museum*, No. 5. [76 I.]
E. Buchan, II, 198. Dixon, *Scottish Traditional Versions*, No. 10. [76 G.]
(Cf. Danish: Abr., 159. Kristensen, II, 70.)

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[1] An appendix attached to this list, containing more extensive remarks on several of the numbers in the present index. Only a portion of this Appendix is now preserved among the *Child MSS.*; as it happens, the lengthy comments on *Lord Lovel* have survived; *Child MSS.*, Vol. IX. — I do not know the exact meaning of Grundtvig's numerical references; he is no doubt referring to some numbered list of unprinted Danish ballads kept for his own use.

63. *Lord Ingram* [84].	[66]
A. Jamieson. Child, II, 326.	[66 C.]
B. Motherwell. Maidment. Child, II, 72.	[66 Aa, Ab.]
C. Buchan, I, 234.	[66 E.]
64. *The Clerks of Oxenford* [154].	[72]
A. Buchan, I, 281.	[72 C.]
B. Chambers [*Scottish Ballads*], p. 348. Aytoun, I, 116. Child, II, 63.	
65. *Edom o' Gordon* [9].	[178]
A. *Percy* [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 79. Child, VI, 154.	[178 B, D.]
B. Ritson, *Anc. Songs*. Child, VI, 147.	
C. Child, VI, 254.	[178 F.]
(Cf. Danish *Utr.* [unprinted], 45, sent *in extenso.*)	
66. *The Bloody Knight* [29].	[88]
A. Herd [ed. 1776], I, 165. Pinkerton, I, 7. Aytoun, II, 115.	[88 A.]
B. Finlay, II, 71. Aytoun, II, 110.	[88 Bb.]
C. Motherwell, p. 193. Child, II, 291.	[88 Ba.]
D. Buchan, II, 20.	[88 E.]
67. *Child Owlet* [130].	[291]
Buchan, I, 27.	[291]
68. *Willie the Widow's Son* [108].	[70]
A. Motherwell. Child, II, 53.	[70 A.]
B. Buchan. Child, II, 57.	[70 B.]
69. *The Drowned Lovers* [76].	[216]
A. Jamieson. Child, II, 171.	[216 B.]
B. Buchan. Motherwell. Child, II, 175.	[216 C.]
70. *Lord Livingstone* [111].	[262]
A. Pinkerton, I, No. 17.	
B. Buchan. Child, III, 343.	[262]
71. *Young Waters* [11].	[94]
A. *Reliques*. Child, III, 88.	[94]
B. Buchan. Child, III, 301.	[94, Appendix.]
72. *The Twa Knights* [171].	[268]
Buchan, II, 271.	[268]
(Cf. *DgF*, 224.	
Cf. V. d. Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, LXVIII, especially Vol. III, p. xci. See also Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 1879, pp. 218–219: *τὸ στοίχημα τοῦ βασιλιᾶ.*)	

73. *The Queen of Scotland and Troy Muir* [134]. [301]
Buchan, I, 46. [301]
— *Suspicious* —

74. *Lord Thomas Stuart* [86]. [259]
Maidment. Child, III, 357. [259]

75. *The Holy Nunnery* [145]. [303]
Buchan, I, 193. [303]
(A somewhat similar Danish ballad: *Utr.* [unprinted], 70, sent *in extenso*.)

76. *Burd Isabel and Sir Patrick* [137]. [257]
Buchan, I, 76. [257 B.]

77. *Lammikin* [22]. [93]
A. Jamieson. Child, III, 94. Aytoun, II, 366. [93 A.]
B. Motherwell. Child, III, 100. [93 B.]
C. Finlay, II, 55. Child, III, 307. [93 R.]
D. *Borderer's Table Book*. Child, III, 313. [93 G.]
E. *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, II, 324. [93 Fa.]
F. [Maidment's] *New Book of Old Ballads*, p. 73. [93 D.]
Whitelaw, p. 2116 [Whitelaw's *Book of Scottish Ballads*, p. 246]. [93 D.]
G. Herd [*Scottish Songs*, 1776], I, 145. [93 P.]
H. Finlay, II, 45. [93 Q.]

78. *The Laird of Waristoun* [74]. [194]
A. Jamieson. Child, III, 107. [194 A.]
B. Kinloch. Child, III, 110. [194 B.]
C. Buchan. Child, III, 316. [194 C.]

79. *Fause Foodrage* [60]. [89]
Scott. Motherwell. Aytoun. Child, III, 40.
(Cf. (1) *Tragica*, 18. *Levninger*, II, 12. Abr., 126. Kristensen, I, 171. Prior, 170. Arwidsson, 15. *Íslenzk fornkvæði*, 28.
(2) *Tragica*, 19.
Levninger, II, 13.
Abr., 127. Kristensen, I, 97. Prior, 164. Bugge, XXIII.)

80. *The Son the Avenger* [55]. [90]
A. Scott. Child, II, 285.
B. Buchan, II, 231 (*May-o-Row*). [90 C.]

81. *May Colvin* [19]. [4]
A. Herd. Motherwell. Child, II, 271. [4 Cb, c.]
B. Sharpe's *Ball. Book*, No. 17. [4 Da.]
Buchan, II, 45. [4 Db.]
C. Bell, p. 61. *Borderer's Table Book*. [4 E.]
(*DgF*, 183.)

Sent all my additional notes on Danish and German versions, the note received from Liebrecht, particularly on Italian versions, also French and Spanish. Besides the whole of Bugge's essay on *Holofernes* from the *Mindeskrift*, 1875, to which I add the following note:

"So far the essay of Professor Bugge, which in its entire state I have submitted to your inspection. The author is a very clever and a very learned man with a name as a philologist and a runologist of European celebrity. And I do not hesitate to proclaim this essay of his a masterpiece in its line, viz., a most ingratiating and persuasive paper delivered in a dubious case by a very eminent advocate. But if you put the question to me, whether I myself have been persuaded by it to believe and to take for granted, that the Biblical story of Judith and Holofernes is in fact the *source* and the fundamental theme of the ballad, — I must confess that I have not arrived to such a persuasion. It seems evident to me, that the many different *names* of the hero may in the most plausible manner be deduced from that of Holofernes; and this also has been the starting point of the learned author. But the rest of the essay seems to me rather to be a clever advocate's defence for his client, than an unprejudiced scientific proof. Many of the arguments *are*, and all of them in my opinion *may be*, quite artificial, that is to say: founded only on accidental conformities, with suppression or a removing explanation of everything (and that is not a little) which speaks *against* the conclusion, which is not the natural result of the argumentation, but rather the supposition for it. However, the essay is admirable in its way, a rather sophistic way, I think, though there can be no doubt of the author's perfect good faith."[1]

82. *The Water of Wearie's Well* [164]. [4]
Buchan. Dixon. Child, I, 198. [4 Bb.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 183.)

83. *The Disconsolate Lady* [109]. [104]
The Jovial Rake's Garland. [104 A.]

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[1] For Child's relation to the matters here discussed, see his letters of March 21, 1880, and February 6, 1881, and his introduction to *E.S.P.B.*, No. 4.

(In the first series of contributions I sent the ballad, which in the year 1843 I copied from a broadside in the B[odleian] Library, Oxford, — with a Danish parallel.)[1]

84. *Fair Annie* [30]. [62]
A–C. (See *DgF*, 258.)

85. *The Broomfield Hill* [31]. [43]
A. Herd, I, 168.
B. Scott. Child, I, 131. [43 A.]
C. Kinloch. Child, I, 134. [43 D.]
D. Buchan, II, 291. [43 C.]
E. Bell, p. 78.

86. *The Twa Brothers* [70]. [49]
A. Jamieson. Child, II, 219. [49 D.]
B. Motherwell. Child, II, 358. [49 E.]
C. Sharpe's *Ballad Book*, No. 19. Aytoun, I, 193. [49 A.]
(Cf. Afzelius. Arwidsson. [Grundtvig's] *Engelske og skotske Folkeviser*, No. 25.)

87. *Prince Robert* [64]. [87]
A. Scott. Child, III, 22. [87 A.]
B. Motherwell. Child, III, 26 [87 B.]

88. *Lady Isabel* [141]. [261]
Buchan, I, 129. [261]
(My first series of contributions contain a comment on this ballad, together with its Swedish parallels.)[2]

89. *Lady Diamond* [165]. [269]
A. Sharpe's *Ballad Book*. [269 C.]
B. Buchan. Dixon. Child, II, 382. [269 D.]
C. Aytoun, II, 173. [269 A.]

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[1] Sent with Grundtvig's letter of March 25, 1874, among his notes on Buchan's ballads.

[2] Grundtvig's comment on this text from Buchan, communicated with his letter to Child of date March 25, 1874, reads in main part as follows:

"This very fine old ballad, that has not even been registered in the Index in Vol. VIII of Child's *English and Scottish Ballads*, ought not to be excluded. I will take my oath on it, that Mr. Peter Buchan has no more forged that ballad himself, than he has been to the moon and back again. Such a suspicion cannot have been the reason for excluding it. It must have been overlooked. For I hope not that it has been slighted because of one honest though not fashionable word in the third stanza."

(Added the Danish: Nyerup and Rasmussen, II, 71; Kristensen, II, 61; and the Swedish, German, Italian parallels, with all my bibliographic notes on the matter.)

90. *Hugh of Lincoln* [6]. [155]
A–E. Child, III, 136. 142. 144. 331. 335. [155 A, D, B, E, F.]

91. *Castle Ha's Daughter* [152]. [52]
Buchan, I, 241. [52 C.]

92. *Lizzie Wan* [18]. [51]
Herd, I, 91. [51 A.]

93. *The Bonny Hind.* [50]
A. Scott, III, 100.
B. Motherwell, Introduction, p. lxxxiv.
(In the Appendix, notes on this ballad. *Utr.* [unprinted] VIII. Copy of *Utr.* [unprinted] LXV.) [1]
"It must be admitted, that this parallel is rather far-fetched, and I will not stretch the comparison any farther, but finish with the remark, that the only ballad that may have a *direct* connection with some of the English, is *Herr Axel*, Arwidsson, 46."

94. *Lady Jane* [124]. [52]
Motherwell, Musick, XXIII. [52 Ab.]

95. *The Lady Stableboy* [75]. [63]
A–E. (See *DgF*, 267.)

96. *The Laird and the Shepherd's Daughter* [21]. [217]
A. Herd [1776], I, 98 (*Bonny May*). [217 Ba.]
B. Scott. Child, IV, 45. [217 G.]
C. Buchan, I, 172. [217 M.]
D. Kinloch, p. 160. [217 C.]
E. Kinloch, p. 167. [217 I.]
F. Evans, I, No. 18 (degenerated).

97. *The Bent Sae Brown* [131]. [71]
Buchan, I, 30. [71]
(Scandinavian parallels in my first series of contributions.)

98. *Young Bearwell* [107]. [302]
Motherwell. Buchan. Child, IV, 302. [302]

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[1] These Roman numerals apparently refer to some catalog of unprinted Danish ballads, which Grundtvig kept for his own convenience.

99. *The Forced Marriage* [118]. [110]
A. *Reliques.* Child, III, 260.
Percy gave the ballad from an old broadside "with some corrections." I have in English libraries seen three single sheets of it, which shewed some variations. No doubt Percy has omitted a stanza between the third and fourth found in the fly-sheets:

He took her about the middle so small,
And laid her on the plain,
And after he had had his will,
He took her up again.
Sing trang di do lee
(This burden by every stanza.)

B. Motherwell. Buchan. Child, III, 266. [110 E.]
C. Kinloch. Child, III, 395.
D. Kinloch, p. 25. [110 H.]
E. Buchan, II, 91. [110 Fa.]

100. *The Gay Goss Hawk* [53]. [96]
A. Scott. Child, III, 277. [96 E.]
B. Motherwell. Child, III, 285. [96 C.]
C. Buchan, II, 245. [96 G.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 235.)

101. *Willie's Lyke-Wake* [157]. [25]
Buchan, II, 61.
(See for Scandinavian parallels my first series of contributions.)

102. *The Laird of Southland's Courtship* [156].
Buchan, II, 27.
(Cf. *DgF*, 260.)

103. *Thomas o' Yonderdale* [149]. [253]
Buchan, I, 211. [253 a.]
(See my first series of contributions.)
(Cf. *DgF*, 255.)

104. *The White Fisher* [147]. [264]
Buchan, I, 200. [264]
(See my first series of contributions.)

105. *Earl Richard's Daughter* [142]. [252]
Buchan, I, 145. [252 B.]
(See my first series of contributions.)

106. *The Newslain Knight* [146]. [263]
Buchan, I, 197. [263]
(See my first series of contributions.)
(Cf. *DgF*, 252.)

107. *Proud Maitland* [143].
Buchan, I, 179.
(Cf. *DgF*, 223.)

108. *Brown Robyn and Mally* [173]. [97]
Buchan, II, 299. [97 C.]
(See my first series of contributions.)

109. *Brown Adam* [54]. [98]
Scott. Child, IV, 60.
(Cf. *DgF*, 199.)

110. *Auld Matrons* [168]. [249]
Buchan, II, 238. [249]
(See my first series of contributions.)

111. *Lizie Lindsay* [119]. [226]
A. Jamieson. Child, IV, 63. [226 Ab.]
B. Buchan, II, 102. [226 E.]
C. Whitelaw. Child, IV, 68. [226 F.]
D. Aytoun, I, 277. [226 B.]
E. Herd. Child, IV, 73 [*Lizae Baillie*].
F. Buchan. Child, IV, 280 [*Lizie Baillie*].
(Cf. *DgF*, 249.)
[Child does not allow E and F to be versions of *Lizie Lindsay*.]

112. *Donald McQueen and Lizie Menzie* [160]. [Vol. V, p. 305 f.]
Buchan, II, 117. [Vol. V, p. 305 f.]
[Placed by Child among the "Additions and Corrections" to *E.S.P.B.*, No. 294.]

113. *The Baron Turned Ploughman* [159].
A. Buchan, II, 109.
B. *Scarce Old Ballads* [Alex. Laing's *Scarce Ancient Ballads*, 1822]. Child, VIII, 233.

114. *Rose the Red and White Lily* [59]. [103]
A. Child, V, 173.
B. Child, V, 184. [103 C.]
C. Child, V, 396. [103 B.]

115. *Redesdale and Wise William* [105]. [246]
Motherwell. Buchan. Child, VIII, 87. [246 A.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 224.)

116. *The Lover Carries off the Bride* [106]. [254]
A. Motherwell. Child, IV, 261. [254 A.]
B. Buchan, II, 57 (*Lord Lundy*). [254 B.]
C. Dixon, *Scottish Ballads*, No. 9 (*Lord William*). [254 C.]

117. *Lord Thomas of Winsberry* [92].	[100]
A. Buchan's *Gleanings*, p. 127.	[100 Ic.]
B. Kinloch, p. 89.	[100 H.]
C. Buchan, II, 212. Child, IV, 305.	[100 G.]
118. *Glenlogie* [B. 44].	[238]
A. [Smith's] *Scotish Minstrel.* Child, IV, 80.	[238 Ib.]
B. Sharpe. Chambers. Aytoun, II, 99.	[238 B.]
C. Buchan, I, 188 (*Jean o' Bethelnie*).	[238 Ea.]
119. *The Duke of Athol* [121].	[232, Appendix.]
Kinloch. Child, IV, 94.	[232, Appendix.]
120. *The Gardener* [178].	[219]
A. Kinloch. Child, IV, 92.	[219 A.]
B. Buchan, II, 187.	[219 B.]
121. *The Fause Lover* [B. 46].	[218]
Buchan. Child, IV, 89.	[218 A.]
122. *Johnnie Scott* [101].	[99]
A. Motherwell. Child, IV, 50.	
B. Kinloch, p. 77 (*J. Buneftan*).	
C. Buchan, I, 248. Child, IV, 272.	
D. Buchan's *Gleanings*, p. 122 (*Lord John*).	[99 N.]
123. *Bonny Baby Livingstone* [81].	[222]
A. Child, IV, 38.	[222 Ab.]
B. Child, IV, 270.	[222 C.]
124. *Katharine Janfarie.*	[221]
A. Scott. Child, IV, 29.	
B. Motherwell. Child, IV, 34.	[221 J.]
C. Maidment's *Garland*, p. 34.	[231 G.]
D. Buchan's *Gleanings*, p. 74.	[221 K.]
(Cf. Syv, 77, translated by Jamieson (Child, IV, 265). Kristensen, I, 41.)	
125. *Young Beichan and Susie Pye* [80].	[53]
A. Jamieson, II, 127. Child, IV, 10.	[53 Cb.]
(The only version in the old ballad metre; all the rest have been modernized.)	
B. Jamieson, II, 117. Child, IV, 1.	[53 E.]
C. Kinloch. Child, IV, 253.	[53 H.]
D. Buchan, *Scarce Old Ballads*, 1819.	
E. *Borderer's Table Book.* Dixon, p. 85.	
F. Dixon, *Scottish Ballads*, No. 1.	[53 M.]
G. Dixon, p. 95. Bell, p. 68. (*Lord Bateman.*)	
(Cf. *DgF*, 218.)	

126. *Robin and Gandelin* [128]. [115]
Ritson [*Ancient Songs*]. Wright [*Songs and Carols*].
Child, V, 38.

127. *Johnnie of Breadislee* [50]. [114]
A. Scott. Child, VI, 11.
B. Motherwell, p. 23. [114 I.]
C. Kinloch. Child, VI, 16. [114 E.]
D. [Fry's] *Pieces of Ancient Poetry*.
Child, VI, 243. [114 C.]
E. Dixon, *Scottish Ballads*, No. 16. [114 H.]

128. *William Wallace* [38]. [157]
A. Laing's edition of Johnson's *Museum*. [157 A.]
B. Johnson's *Museum*, No. 484. Finlay, I, 97.
Aytoun, I, 54. [157 C.]
C. Buchan's *Gleanings*. Motherwell. Child, VI,
231. [157 F.]
D. [Alex. Laing's] *Thistle of Scotland*. Child, VI,
237. [157 G.]
E. Buchan, II, 226. [157 H.]

129. *The Battle of Otterbourn* [25]. [161]
A. Percy. Child, VII, 5.
B. Herd. Child, VII, 177. [161 Ba.]
C. Scott. Child, VII, 19. [161 C.]
D. Finlay, Introduction, p. xviii. [161 D.]

130. *Chevy Chace* [B. 22]. [162]
A–B. Child, VII, 29. 43.

131. *Jock the Leg and the Merchant* [163]. [282]
Buchan, II, 165. [282]
(Cf. Child, VIII, 265.)

132–167. Robin Hood Ballads.[1]
[132. *Robin Hood and the Monk*.] [119]
Child, V, 1. [119 a.]

[133. *Robin Hood and the Potter*.] [121]
Child, V, 17.

[134. *Robin Hood and the Butcher*.] [122]
Child, V, 33.

[135. *A Lytell Geste of Robin Hood*.] [117]
Child, V, 42.

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[1] Under this group of numbers and under the general title, Grundtvig simply gives the page references to Vol. V of Child's *English and Scottish Ballads*. I have listed in their order Grundtvig's references to Child's collection, adduced Child's original titles, supplied the individual serial numbers, and added the corresponding numbers and letters from the *E.S.P.B.*

[136. *Adam Bell, Clym of the Cloughe, and Wyllyam of Cloudesle.*] [116]
Child, V, 124.

[137. *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne.*] [118]
Child, V, 159. [118]

[138. *The Birth of Robin Hood.*] [102]
Child, V, 170. 392. [102 A, B.]

[139. *Robin Hood and the Beggar.*] [134]
Child, V, 187.

[140. *The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield.*] [124]
Child, V, 204.

[141. *Robin Hood and the Ranger.*] [131]
Child, V, 207.

[142. *Robin Hood's Delight.*] [136]
Child, V, 211.

[143. *Robin Hood and Little John.*] [125]
Child, V, 216. [125 a.]

[144. *Robin Hood and the Tanner.*] [126]
Child, V, 223.

[145. *Robin Hood and the Tinker.*] [127]
Child, V, 230.

[146. *Robin Hood and the Shepherd.*] [135]
Child, V, 238.

[147. *Robin Hood and the Peddlers.*] [137]
Child, V, 243. [137]

[148. *The Bold Pedlar and Robin Hood.*] [132]
Child, V, 248. [132]

[149. *Robin Hood and the Beggar.*] [133]
Child, V, 251.

[150. *Robin Hood and the Old Man.*] [140]
Child, V, 257. [140 A.]

[151. *Robin Hood Rescuing the Widow's Three Sons from the Sheriff.*] [140]
Child, V, 261. [140 Ba.]

[152. *Robin Hood Rescuing the Three Squires from Nottingham Gallows.*] [140]
Child, V, 267. [140 C.]

[153. *Robin Hood and the Curtall Fryer.*] [123]
Child, V, 271.

[154. *Robin Hood and Allin a Dale.*] [138]
Child, V, 278.

[155. *Robin Hood Rescuing Will Stutly.*] [141]
Child, V, 283.

[156. *Robin Hood's Progress to Nottingham.*] [139]
Child, V, 290.

[157. *Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford.*] [144]
Child, V, 294.

[158. *Robin Hood and the Bishop.*] [143]
Child, V, 298.

[159. *Robin Hood's Golden Prize.*] [147]
Child, V, 303.

[160. *Robin Hood's Death and Burial.*] [120]
Child, V, 308.

[161. *Robin Hood and Queen Katherine.*] [145]
Child, V, 312.

[162. *Robin Hood's Chase.*] [146]
Child, V, 320.

[163. *Little John and the Four Beggers.*] [142]
Child, V, 325.

[164. *The Noble Fisherman.*] [148]
Child, V, 329.

[165. *Robin Hood and the Tanner's Daughter.*] [8]
Child, V, 334. [8 C.]

[166. *Robin Hood and the Stranger.*]
Child, V, 404. [Cf. *E.S.P.B.*, No. 125].

[167. *Robin Hood and the Scotchman.*] [130]
Child, V, 418. [130 B.]

In my opinion Child, V, 38 [*Robyn and Gandelyn: E.S.P.B.*, No. 115]; 173. 396 [*Rose the Red, and White Lilly: E.S.P.B.*, No. 103]; 184 [*The Wedding of Robin Hood and Little John: E.S.P.B.*, No. 103 C] do not belong to this series of ballads, and the rest of Child's Appendix (V, 343 [*E.S.P.B.*, No. 149]; 353 [*E.S.P.B.*, No. 154]; 372 [*E.S.P.B.*, No. 150]; 376 [*E.S.P.B.*, No. 151]; 383 [*E.S.P.B*,. No. 152]; 388 [*E.S.P.B.*, No. 153]; 420 [*The Play of Robin Hood: E.S.P.B.*, No. 123, Appendix]; 428 [*Fragment of an Interlude* (?) *of Robin Hood*]; 431 [*By Lands-Dale Hey Ho*]; 433 [*In*

Sherwood Livde Stout Robin Hood]; 434 [*The Song of Robin Hood and His Huntes-Men*]; 437 [I cannot find this page in any edition available to me]) must be kept out of the work, and given only as material for information, if in fact they are to be printed at large.

A rearrangement of the Robin Hood Ballads might also be very advisable.

168. *The Laird of Muirhead* [B. 20].
Weber, *Floddon Field*, p. 294.

169. *The Battle of Harlaw*. 1411. [B. 49]. [163]
Aytoun. Child, VII, 317.

170. *Sir John Butler*. XV Cent. [B. 60]. [165]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, III, 205. [165]

171. *Floddon Field*. 1513. [B. 21]. [168]
A. Ritson. Weber. Child, VII, 71.
B. Evans, III, No. 12.

172. *The Duke of Gordon's Daughter*. XVI Cent. [B.48]. [237]
Ritson. Aytoun. Child, IV, 102.
(Cf. *Richie Storie*, Child, VIII, 255.)

173. *Bonny Earl of Murray*. 1592. [4]. [181]
A. Percy. Herd. Finlay. Child, VII, 119. [181 A.]
B. Finlay. Motherwell. Child, VII, 121. [181 B.]

174. *The Fire of Frendraught*. 1630. [87]. [196]
Child, VI, 173. [196 Aa.]

175. *The Countess of Erroll* [180]. [231]
Buchan, II, 176. [231 C.]

176. *The Queen's Mary* [67]. [173]
A. Scott. Child, III, 113. [173 Ia.]
B. Motherwell. Child, III, 120.
C. Kinloch. Child, III, 324. [173 H.]
D. Maidment. [Buchan's] *Gleanings*. Child, III, 329. [173 M.]
E. Sharpe's *Ballad Book*. [173 A.]
F. Buchan, II, 190. [173 E.]
G. Aytoun, II, 44.

177. *The Battle of Philiphaugh*. 1645. [B. 11]. [202]
Scott. Aytoun. Child, VII, 131. [202]

178. *Eppie Morrie*. XVIII Cent. [90]. [223]
Maidment. Child, VI, 260. [223]

179.	*Lord Derwentwater.* 1716(?) [B. 19].	[208]
	A. Motherwell. Child, VII, 164.	[208 A.]
	B. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825 [Part First], p. 489.	[208 I.]
	C. *Notes and Queries* [First Series], XII, 492.	[208 B.]
180.	*King Edward and the Tanner* [B. 59]. Child, VIII, 21.	[273]
181.	*Queen Eleanor's Confession* [116].	[156]
	A. *Old Ballads.* Child, VI, 209.	[156 Ad.]
	B. *Reliques*, Series II, Bk. II, No. 8.	
	C. Motherwell, p. 1.	[156 F.]
	D. Kinloch. Child, VI, 213.	[156 E.]
	E. Buchan's *Gleanings*, p. 77.	[156 C.]
	F. Utterson's *Little Book of Ballads*, p. 22.	[156 Ac.]
	G. Aytoun, I, 196.	[156 D.]
	N.B. Danish translation of B commonly sung in the country.	
182.	*The Overcourteous Knight* [110].	
	A–D. (See *DgF*, 230.)	
	E. "Jock Sheep," Kinloch's *Ballad Book*, p. 17 [15?].	
	[Cf. *E.S.P.B.*, Vol. II, p. 480.]	
183.	*The Abashed Knight* [161]. Buchan, II, 131. (Cf. *DgF*, 231.) [Cf. *E.S.P.B.*, Vol. II, p. 480.]	
184.	*The Riddles* (Seven four-lined stanzas) [174].	[46]
	A. Wright. Child, VIII, 271.	[46, Introd.]
	B. Halliwell's *Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales* (1849), p. 150.	[46, Introd.]
185.	*Get Up and Bar the Door* [B. 57].	[275]
	Child, VIII, 125.	[275 Aa.]

THIRD CLASS

The third class of ballads are characterized by a prolongation of the old four-lined ballad metre, having four instead of three accents in the second and fourth lines of each stanza. This later fashion has not been introduced in ballads till the 16th century, but may then have been adapted to older ballads. Several ballads of the second class have been remodelled in this manner. But no doubt the greater part of them were originally composed in this form, which is prevailing in all the "Border Ballads" of the 17th and 18th centuries.

186. *Kemp Owain* [61].	[34]
A. Scott. Child, I, 137.	
B. Motherwell. Buchan. Child, I, 143.	[34 A.]
C. Sharpe. Child I [VIII], 139 [*Kempy Kaye*]. — Travesties.	[33 A.]
D. Kinloch. Child I [VIII], 141 [*Kempy Kaye*]. — Travesties.	[33 Bb.]
187. *Clerk Colville and the Mermaid* [27].	[42]
Herd. Child, I, 192.	[42 B.]
(*DgF*, 47.)	
188. *The Knight's Ghost* [150].	[265]
Buchan. Child, I, 210.	[265]
189. *The Hawthorn Tree* [B. 43].	
Ritson. Evans. Child, I, 311.	
(*DgF*, 60.)	
190. *Thomas the Rhymer* [69].	[37]
A. Scott. Child, I, 109.	[37 C.]
B. Jamieson, II, 3.	
(Cf. Child, I, 95 [*Thomas of Ersseldoune*, from Laing's *Select Remains*], from which the ballad may be derived.)	
191. *The Wee Wee Man* [20].	[38]
A. Caw. Child, I, 126.	[38 B.]
B. Herd, I, 95.	[38 A.]
C. Motherwell, p. 343.	[38 Eb.]
D. Buchan, I, 263.	[38 G.]
(Cf. Child, I, 273 [*Als Y Yod on ay Mounday*, *E.S.P.B.*, No. 38, Appendix], perhaps the source of the popular ballad.)	
192. *Alison Gross* [82].	[35]
Jamieson. Child, I, 168.	
193. *Leesome Brand* [132].	[15]
Buchan. Child, II, 342. (See *DgF*, 272.)	[15 Aa.]
194. *The Coble of Cargill* [103].	[242]
Motherwell. Child, III, 30.	[242]
195. *Bonny Barbara Allan* [3].	[84]
A. Ramsay. Herd. Percy. Child, II, 155.	[84 A.]
B. Percy, III, II, 7. Child, II, 158.	
196. *Lord Salton and Auchanachie* [88].	[239]
A. Maidment. Child, II, 165.	[239 Ab.]
B. Buchan. Child, II, 167.	[239 Aa.]
(Cf. Danish: Abrahamson, 124. Kristensen, II, 60.)	

197.	*Willie's Drowned in Gamery* [153].	[215]
	A. Buchan. Child, II, 181.	[215 E.]
	B. Ramsay. Herd, I, 82. Aytoun, II, 78.	
	C. Dixon, *Scottish Ballads*, No. 12.	[215 F.]
198.	*Annan Water* [65. Cf. 76].	[215]
	Scott. Aytoun. Child, II, 186.	[215, Appendix.]
199.	*Glasgow Peggie* [85].	[228]
	A. Sharpe, No. 15.	[228 A.]
	B. Kinloch. Child, IV, 76.	[228 Ba.]
	C. Buchan, II, 155.	[228 D.]
200.	*Erlinton* [44].	[8]
	Scott. Aytoun. Child, III, 220.	[8 A.]
	(*DgF*, 82.)	
	(Bugge's and my own yet unprinted remarks on the ballad sent.) [See Grundtvig's *Tillæg* to his *DgF*, 82.]	
201.	*Clerk Tamas* [133. B. 41].	[260]
	A. Buchan. Child, III, 349.	[260 B.]
	B. *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 384.	
	(B is founded on a better version than A.)	
202.	*The Baron of Brackley*. 1666. [73].	[203]
	(Prolonged two-line metre.)	
	A. Child, VI, 188.	[203 Cb.]
	B. Child, VI, 192.	[203 Ab.]
	C. Laing's *Thistle of Scotland*. [According to Child, *E.S.P.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 80, Grundtvig's C is Child's Cb.]	
203.	*Sir Andrew Barton* [B. 58].	[167]
	Percy [*Folio*] MS., III, 399.	[167 A.]
	(Modernized in a horrid manner, see Child, VII, 55. 201. The latter is the source of the *Reliques*.) [Cf. *E.S.P.B.*, No. 167 Ba, Bh.]	
204.	*The Laird of Logie* (*Ochiltree*). 1592. [75].	[182]
	A. Herd [1776], I, 21.	[182 B.]
	B. Scott. Motherwell. Child, IV, 109.	[182 A.]
	(Motherwell adds a stanza.)	
205.	*Lord Aboyne* [91].	[240]
	A. *Thistle of Scotland*. Child, IV, 97.	[240 C.]
	B. Buchan's *Gleanings*. Aytoun, II, 309.	
	C. Johnson's *Museum*, p. 474.	[240 Aa.]
	D. Buchan, II, 66.	[240 Ab.]
	(Cf. *DgF*, 268. 269.)	

206.	*Lady Elspat* [83].	[247]
	Jamieson. Aytoun. Child, IV, 308.	[247 a.]
207.	*The Lochmaben Harper* [B. 6].	[192]
	A. Scott [1833]. Child, VI, 7.	[192 Ac.]
	B. Johnson [*Museum*]. Child, VI, 3.	[192 Ab.]
	C. Dixon, *Scottish Ballads*, No. 4 b.	[192 B.]
208.	*The Outlaw Murray* [43].	[305]
	A. Scott. Child, VI, 20.	[305 Ab.]
	B. Aytoun, II, 129.	[305 Ac.]
209.	*Kinmont Willie* [B. 8].	[186]
	Child, VI, 58.	[186]
210.	*Hughie Græme* [B. 4].	[191]
	A. Child, VI, 51.	[191 B.]
	B. Child, VI, 55.	[191 C.]
	C. Child, VI, 247.	[191 Ad.]
	D. Dixon, No. 15.	[191 E.]
211.	*Johnie Armstrong* [1].	[169]
	A. Child, VI, 37.	[169 Bc.]
	B. Child, VI, 45.	[169 C.]
	C. Child, VI, 251.	[169 Aa.]
212.	*Dick o' the Cow* [B. 1].	[185]
	Child, VI, 67.	[185 b.]
213.	*Jock o' the Side* [B. 2].	[187]
	A. *Percy* [*Folio*] *MS.*, II, 203.	[187 A.]
	B. Scott. Aytoun. Child, VI, 80.	[187 Ba.]
	C. Scott. Child, VI, 88.	
	D. Motherwell. Child, VI, 94.	
	E. Buchan, I, 111 (*The Three Brothers*).	[188 C.]
214.	*Hobie Noble* [B. 3].	[189]
	Child, VI, 97.	[189 a.]
215.	*Rookhope Ride* [B. 27].	[179]
	Child, VI, 121.	[179]
216.	*Jamie Telfer* [B. 7].	[190]
	Child, VI, 105.	[190]
217.	*The Death of Parcy Reed* [B. 51].	[193]
	Child, VI, 139.	[193 B.]
218.	*Willie Mackintosh* [B. 52] (Nursery rhyme metre).	[183]
	A. Child, VI, 159.	[183 B.]
	B. Child, VI, 161.	[183 Aa.]
	C. Whitelaw, p. 248.	[183 Ab.]

219. *The Bonny House of Airly* [B. 18].	[199]
A. Child, VI, 183.	
B. Child, VI, 186.	[199 Aa.]
C. Kinloch, p. 100.	[199 D.]
220. *The Lads of Wamphray* [B. 10].	[184]
Child, VI, 168.	
221. *Death of Queen Jane.* 1537. [B. 17].	[170]
A. Jamieson, I, 182.	[170 Ca.]
B. Kinloch. Child, VII, 74.	[170 B.]
C. London Collection [*Old Ballads*] of 1723.	
D. Bell. Child, VII, 77.	[170 D.]
222. *The Murder of Darnley.* 1567. [B. 54].	[174]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.* Child, VII, 78.	
223. *The Rising in the North.* 1569. [B. 25].	[175]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.* Child, VII, 82.	
224. *Northumberland Betrayed.* 1572. [B. 26].	[176]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.* Child, VII, 92.	
225. *The Gallant Grahams.* ca. 1660.	
Child, VII, 137. [Cf. *E.S.P.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 78.]	
226. *The Battle of Pentland Hills.* ca. 1660. [B. 12].	
Child, VII, 240.	
227. *The Battle of Loudon Hill.* 1679. [B. 13].	[205]
Child, VII, 144.	[205]
228. *The Battle of Bothwell Bridge.* 1679. [B. 14].	[206]
Child, VII, 148.	[206]
229. *The Heir of Linne* [10].	[267]
A. *Percy* [*Folio*] *MS.* Child, VIII, 60.	
B. Dixon. Child, VIII, 70.	[267 Ba.]
C. Motherwell, Introduction, p. lxviii.	
230. *Geordie* [36].	[209]
A. Child, VIII, 92.	[209 A.]
B. Child, VIII, 96.	[209 Eb.]
C. Child, VIII, 285.	[209 J.]
231. *The Duke of Athol's Nourice* [95].	[212]
A. Kinloch. Child, VIII, 231.	[212 Eb.]
B. Buchan. Child, VIII, 228.	[212 Fa.]
C. Aytoun, II, 242.	
232. *Richie Storie* [183].	[232]
Child, VIII, 255.	[232 Fa.]

233. *The Bonny Lass of Englesey's Dance* [158]. [220]
A. Lawrie and Symington, 1791. Aytoun, II, 233.
B. Buchan, II, 63. [220 B.]
(Cf. *DgF*, 263.)

234. *The Lord of Learne* [184]. [271]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 180. [271 A.]

235. *Young Andrew* [185]. [48]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 327. [48]
(Cf. *DgF*, 183.)

236. *Will Stuart and John* [186]. [107]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, III, 215. [107 A.]

237. *Barbara Blair* [148].
Buchan, I, 218.

238. *The Laird o' Meldrum and Peggy Douglass* [162].
Buchan, II, 151.

239. *The King and the Miller.* [273, Appendix III.]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.* Child, VIII, 32.

240. *King John and the Abbot* [B. 47]. [45]
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.* III, 146. Child, VIII, 3.

241. *The Friar in the Well.* [276]
Child, VIII, 122.

242. *The Farmer's Old Wife.* [278]
Child, VIII, 257. [278 A.]

FOURTH CLASS

The fourth class, consisting of Imitations of the Old Ballad Style, may be limited to the following pieces:

243. *The Lady Turned Servingman* [49]. [106]
A. Child, III, 86 [Scott's *Lament of the Border Widow*]. [106, Introd.]
B. Child, IV, 174. [106 c.]
C. [Grundtvig lists a C, but gives no reference for the version.]
(See *DgF*, 267.)

244. *Bonny George Campbell* [B. 30]. [210]
Child, III, 92.

245. *Auld Maitland* [42].
Child, VI, 217.

246. *The Battle of Corichie.* 1562. [B. 40].
Child, VII, 210.

247.	*Gilderoy*. 1638. [B. 53].	
	Child, VI, 196.	
248.	*Bonny John Seaton*. 1639. [B. 50].	[198]
	Child, VII, 230.	[198 A.]
249.	*The Battle of Alford*. ca. 1660.	
	Child, VII, 238. [Cf. *E.S.P.B.*, No. 202, Introd.]	
250.	*Rob Roy*. 1753. [B. 56].	[225]
	Child, VI, 202. 257. 258.	
	[Child, VI, 257.]	[225 G.]
251.	*John o' Hazelgreen* [B. 45].	[293]
	Child, IV, 83.	[293 Da.]
252.	*Bonny Bee Holm* [79].	[92]
	Child, III, 53. 57.	[92 B, A.]
253.	*Lady Isabella's Tragedy* [B. 35].	
	Child, III, 366.	
254.	*The Bailiff's Daughter* [B. 34].	[105]
	Child, IV, 158.	
255.	*Blancheflour and Jellyflorice* [140].	[300]
	Child, IV, 295.	[300]
256.	*Captain Wedderburn's Courtship*.	[46]
	Child, VIII, 11.	[46 Bd.]
257.	*The Loving Wife* [33].	[204]
	A. Herd [1776], I, 149 (*Earl Douglas*).	[204 M.]
	B. Finlay. Child, IV, 287.	[204 L.]
	C. Motherwell. Child, IV, 135.	[204 O.]
	D. Kinloch. Child, IV, 290.	[204 E.]
	E. Aytoun, I, 133 (*Marchioness of Douglas*).	
	F. Ramsay. Child, IV, 132.	[204, Introd.]
	(Cf. *Tragica*, 17. Abrahamson, 125. Kristensen, I, 60; II, 58. Afzelius, 48 and II, 223. Arwidsson, 59.)	
258.	*Græme and Bewick* [B. 15].	[211]
	Child, III, 77.	
259.	*The Lovers' Quarrel* [196].	[109]
	Child, IV, 311.	[109 Bb.]
260.	*Henry Vth's Conquest*.	[164]
	Child, VII, 190.	[164 i.]
261.	*The Trumpeter of Fyvie* [B. 16.]	[233]
	Child, II, 190, 201.	[233 Cb, A.]

262. *The Dowie Dens of Yarrow* [52]. [214]
Child, III, 63. 69. [214 Eb, I.]
(Cf. Syv, 79. Abrahamson, 146. Prior, 169.)

263. *Sir James the Rose* [34]. [213]
Child, III, 73. [213 g.]

264. *Bessie Bell and Mary Gray* [B. 42]. [201]
Child, III, 126. [201 b.]

265. *The Gypsie Laddie* [5]. [200]
Child, IV, 114, 283.
(Cf. Kristensen, I, 44; II, 45. Afzelius, 57. Meier, *Schwäbische Volkslieder*, p. 407.)

266. *The Laird of Drum* [97]. [236]
Child, IV, 118. [236 Ab.]

267. *Sir John Suckling* [B. 55].
Child, VII, 128.

268. *John Dory*. [284]
Child, VIII, 194. [284]

269. *King Arthur's Death* [B. 33].
Percy [*Folio*] *MS.*, I, 497. Child, I, 40.
Remnants of two different ballads, the last of them in two different metres. I have not made up my mind what to do with it; therefore I put it here in the meantime.
(See notes on No. 23.)

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INDEX

INDEX

The norm for ballad titles is the wording and spelling of Child's *E.S.P.B.* Minor variations are in some cases indicated by parentheses. Alternative titles differing widely from Child's are entered under the form found in the text.

Aage og Else, 142, 149
Aarne, Antti, 157
Aasen, Ivar, 163, 164 n., 169
Abashed Knight, The, 328
Abbotsford MSS., 34, 214, 215, 222, 263, 288
Abrahams, N. C. L., 183, 184
Abrahamson, W. H. F., 11, 85, 141, 143, 144, 146, 147, 181, 182, 308–335
Adam Bell, 270, 302, 325
Addison, Joseph, 22, 233, 234
Ældre og nyere norske Fjeldmelodier, 166
Afsked af svenska folksharpan, 151, 152
Afzelius, A. A., 11, 85, 142 n., 149–152, 279, 308–335
Agnes and the Hill-Man, 136, 137
Aktstykke . . . nordisk Folkeminnegransking, 164–166 nn.
Album utgifvet af Nyländingar, 159
Alice Brand, 46
Alison Gross, 329
Allardyce, Alexander, 67, 68 n., 69
Allingham, William, 132
Almindelig Morskabslæsning, 144, 145
Alonzo the Brave, 10
Altdeutsche Wälder, 10
American Ballads and Songs, 229
American Songbag, The, 229
American War Ballads and Lyrics, 228 n.
Ampère, J. J., 90, 280, 281, 288
Ancient and Modern Scotish Songs, 178
Ancient Ballads and Songs, 70, 71, 179, 241, 257 n., 261 n.
Ancient Danish Ballads, 137, 270 n.
Ancient English Metrical Romances, 24 n., 80, 83
Ancient Mariner, The, 23, 98, 99, 136
Ancient Mysteries, 87
Ancient Poems, Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry of England, 132
Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain, 97
Ancient Scottish Ballads, 73–75, 179
Ancient Scottish Melodies, 116
Ancient Songs, 81, 178
Ancient Spanish Ballads, 77, 78
Anderson, Robert, 40, 41, 55
Andersson, Nils, 155
Annan Water, 330
Antiquary, The, 48
Apology for Tales of Terror, An, 26, 106, 108 n.
Árnason, Jón, 171
von Arnim, L. A., 60, 208
Arthur, Arthurian, 83, 115, 254, 284, 291, 299, 300, 302
Arvidsson (Arwidsson), A. I., 151, 157, 186, 279, 308–320
Asbjørnsen, P. C., 142 n., 160, 162
Atterbom, P. D. A., 149
Auld Maitland, 32, 33, 37, 65, 130, 209, 254, 333
Auld Matrons, 270, 322
Auld Robin Gray, 115
Austin, Mary, 228 n.
Axel Thordsen og Skjøn Valborg, 141, 142
Aytoun, W. E., 132, 308–332

Babes in the Wood, The, 100
Babylon, 293
Bagford ballads, 120
Bailiff's Daughter of Islington, The, 302, 334
Baillie, Joanna, 105
Ballad Book, A (Sharpe), 67–69
Ballad Book, The (Allingham), 132
Ballad Book, The (Kinloch), 73
Ballad Criticism, 141 n., 192 n., 242 n., 271 n., 298 n.
Ballad of Mary the Mother, The, 136

- Ballad Society, The, 118–121, 129, 213, 246, 247, 262, 263
- *Ballad Stories of the Affections*, 136
- *Balladen der Schottischen Grenzlande*, 43 n.
- Ballads, American, 8, 126, 133, 217, 218, 227–229, 288
- Ballads, British popular:
  - General discussion, 3–138, 205–335
  - Antiquity, chronology, 13–15, 19, 36, 37, 59, 72, 73, 179, 186, 225, 226, 243, 245, 253–255, 276–278, 291, 304
  - Authorship, origins, popularity, tradition, 4–19, 23, 37–40, 45, 53, 54, 58, 60, 61, 72, 73, 75, 80, 83, 85, 88, 91, 92, 98, 118, 119, 130–132, 179, 180, 186, 187, 199, 209, 212, 216, 217, 223–226, 228, 230, 232, 233, 249, 250, 262, 263, 268, 269, 288
  - Ballad and dance, 5 n., 6, 8, 53, 88, 124–126, 127
  - Ballad and drama, 92 n., 109, 232–235
  - Census, 187, 223, 231, 245
  - Classification, 4, 6, 14, 17, 19, 20, 27, 35–37, 45, 60, 72–74, 86, 90, 100, 101, 116–121, 129, 130, 135, 211–213, 218–220, 223, 225, 232, 243, 249, 253–255, 257, 259–261, 265–272, 275–278, 285, 290–293, 301–305, 305–335
  - Definition, 4, 5, 36, 75, 88, 225, 232, 254, 255, 262, 263, 268, 276–278
  - Form, style, 5, 6, 15–17, 19, 20, 27, 28, 37, 43, 45, 47, 91, 92, 97–110, 219, 269, 270, 276–278, 292, 304, 311, 323, 328, 335
  - Imitations of, 22–29, 41–43, 46, 48, 63–68, 82, 87, 94, 95, 97–110, 130–138, 235, 249, 254, 257, 264, 333–335
  - Music, 5, 8, 9, 53, 54, 73, 74, 87, 88, 124–126, 229, 288 n.
  - Translations of, 43, 150, 178–180, 231, 243
- Ballads, historical, 35–37, 66, 86, 116, 117, 121, 129, 142, 153, 172, 185, 192, 195, 196, 198, 203, 211, 218, 219, 228, 254, 265, 269, 276–279, 301, 302, 311–335
- Ballads, humorous, 26, 103, 105–110, 134, 200, 235, 255, 265, 295
- Ballads, non-popular, 6, 14, 116–122, 129, 145, 200, 211–213, 227–229, 231, 243, 246, 247, 254, 262, 263, 333–335
- Ballads, Scandinavian popular:
  - General discussion, 3–21, 26, 58, 83, 85, 136–335
  - Antiquity, chronology, 13–15, 19, 59, 173, 186, 188, 198, 199, 235, 245, 276–278
  - Authorship, origins, popularity, tradition, 4–19, 53, 54, 60, 61, 142, 144, 145, 150, 152, 162, 168, 171–173, 179, 180, 183, 186, 188, 195–199, 230–300
  - Ballad and dance, 8, 127, 172
  - Ballad and drama, 140–142, 234, 235
  - Census, 187, 199, 200, 231, 245
  - Classification, 4, 6, 11, 14, 17, 19, 143–145, 151, 152, 164, 167, 172, 173, 177–186, 195, 196, 232, 265, 275–278
  - Form, style, 5, 15–17, 19, 20, 173, 198, 203, 219, 276, 277
  - Imitations of, 145, 146, 235
  - Music, 5, 8, 9, 141, 142, 145, 146, 152, 153, 155, 161, 164, 166, 167, 172–174, 201, 203
  - Translations of, 46, 47, 57–59, 85, 94–97, 136–138, 208
- Ballads, Servian, 7 n., 97
- Ballads, Spanish, 5 n., 39, 77, 78, 97, 104, 225, 255
- *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces*, 42
- *Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia*, 228
- *Ballads and Songs* (Kittredge), 229 n.
- *Ballads and Songs from Mississippi*, 229 n.
- *Ballads and Songs of Derbyshire*, 125
- *Ballads of Scotland, The*, 132
- *Ballads of the English Border*, 43, 135
- *Ballads of the North Countrie*, 133
- Bannatyne, 115, 116
- *Barbara Blair*, 333
- *Baron of Brackley, The*, 330
- *Baron Turned Ploughman, The*, 322
- Barry, Edward, 91, 92
- Barry, Phillips, 227, 229 n.
- *Bartram's Dirge*, 302
- *Battle of Alford, The*, 302, 334
- *Battle of Bothwell Bridge, The*, 302, 332
- *Battle of Corichie, The*, 302, 333

Battle of Floddon Field, The, 59 n., 302
Battle of Harlaw, The, 302, 327
Battle of Humbledown Hill, The, 86
Battle of Loudon Hill, The, 302, 332
Battle of Otterburn, The, 86, 324
Battle of Pentland Hills, The, 302, 332
Battle of Philiphaugh, The, 302, 327
Battle of the Ballads, The (Folkevisestriden), 148, 183–200
Beattie, Catherine, Elizabeth, and James N., 74
Beginnings of Poetry, The, 9
Belden, H. M., 227, 229 n.
Bell, John, 86
Bell, Robert, 132, 305–332
Bent Sae Brown, The, 320
Beowulf, 58, 113, 114, 284, 305
Beresford, James, 94
Berge, Rikard, 161 n., 164 n., 166 n., 169
Berggreen, A. P., 203, 279
Bergström, Richard, 149
Bessy Bell and Mary Gray, 302, 335
Betänkande med förslag . . . svenska allmogekulturen, 156
Bidrag til Södermanlands äldre kulturhistoria, 155 n.
Birth of Robin Hood, The, 325
Bishoprick Garland, The, 89
Blancheflour and Jellyflorice, 334
Bloch, Jørgen, 174, 193, 297 n.
Bloody Knight, The, 316
Bloomfield, Robert, 87
Blue Flower and Yellow, 310
Böckel, Otto, 8
Böhme, F. M., 10
Bold Pedlar and Robin Hood, The, 325
Bon Gaultier, 134
Bondesen, August, 155
Bonnie Annie, 293, 310
Bonny Baby Livingstone, 323
Bonny Banks o Fordie, The, 308
Bonny Barbara Allan, 329
Bonny Bee Hom, 334
Bonny Earl of Murray, The, 327
Bonnie George Campbell, 302, 333
Bonny Hind, The, 54, 244, 281, 282, 293, 320
Bonnie House o Airlie, The, 74, 302, 332
Bonny John Seton, 334
Bonny Lass of Anglesey (Englesey), The, 333
Book of Scottish Ballads, The, 130
Book of Scottish Song, The, 130
Borderer's Table-Book, The, 130, 131, 317, 323
Borgström, Ludvig, 154
Borrow, George, 95–97, 137, 139, 140 n.
Bowring, John, 95–97
Boy and the Mantle, The, 254, 293, 294, 311
Braes o Yarrow, The, 34
Bramley, H. R., 126
Brave Earl Brand, 308
Brentano, Clemens, 208
Bride but not Maiden, 310
Briefwechsel der Gebrüder Grimm mit nordischen Gelehrten, 142 n.
British Minstrel, The, 67
Broom Blooms Bonnie, The, 309
Broomfield Hill, The, 319
Brown, John, 7
Brown, Mrs., of Falkland, 19, 20, 29–31, 55–57, 214, 231, 248, 249, 252, 255, 263, 264, 288
Brown Adam, 322
Brown Robin (and Mally), 322
Brown Robyn's Confession, 312, 313
Brownie of Bodsbeck, The, 66
Bruce, J. C., 125
Bruinier, J. W., 11
Brydges, Egerton, Sir, 91
Buceta, Erasmo, 78 n.
Buchan, Peter, 21, 69–71, 117, 118, 125, 130, 176, 179, 205, 208, 209, 214, 227, 241, 242, 248, 249, 257, 258, 261, 263, 264, 269, 270, 274, 281, 305–333
Buchanan, Robert, 136, 137
Bugge, Sophus, 162, 165–167, 202, 279, 286, 287, 314, 317, 318, 330
Bujeaud, Jérome, 281, 288
Bullen, A. H., 126
Burd Ellen and Young Tamlane, 293, 309
Burd Helen, 60
Burd Isabel and Earl (Sir) Patrick, 317
Bürger, G. A., 7, 10, 24, 25, 86, 93, 94, 98, 102, 134, 139, 148, 235
Burne, Charlotte S., 133
Burney, Charles, 125
Burns, Robert, 20, 61–64, 67, 205
Burton, J. H., 74, 257, 264
Byron, George Gordon, Lord, 104, 250

Cadyow Castle, 41, 42
Caledonian Muse, The, 81

Camden, 115, 123
Campbell, Olive Dame, 126 n., 228
Canada, Canadian, 228, 288
Captain Cox, His Ballads and Books, 119, 120
Captain Wedderburn's Courtship, 334
Carlyle, Thomas, 93, 216, 263
Carnal and the Crane, The, 87
Carols, 87, 88, 117, 121, 126, 133, 302
Castle Ha's Daughter, 320
Castrén, M. A., 157
Chambers, Robert, 71–73, 118, 123, 309, 316, 323
Champfleury [= Jules Fleury], 288
Chanson de Roland, 5, 90
Chansons populaires (*Poésies populaires de la France*), 280, 281, 288
Chappell, William, 118–121, 124, 125
Charakteristik der Volkslieder, 10
Charlemagne, 6, 15, 172, 298–300
Charles Græme, 269, 314
Chase, The, 24–26
Chatterton, Thomas, 22, 37, 99
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 81, 89, 100, 114, 207, 283
Chevy Chase (*The Hunting of the Cheviot*), 39, 63, 86, 109, 233, 302, 324
Chil Ether, 257, 264, 270
Child, F. J., 4, 5, 13, 15, 21, 25–34, 56 n., 57, 65 n., 67, 68, 71, 76 n., 77, 86, 87, 90–92, 111, 112, 118, 119, 121, 126–129, 131, 133, 138, 153 n., 175, 194 n., 205–335
Child Maurice (*Gil Morrice*), 76, 77, 234, 314
Child of Elle, The, 313
Child Owlet, 316
Child Rowland and Burd Ellen, 312
Christabel, 46, 98, 99
Christiansen, R. T., 169
Christie, W., 125
Christmas Carols, 87, 88
Christmas Carols, Old and New, 126
Christmastide, 88
Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, A, 51
Clerk Colvill (*and the Mermaid*), 329
Clerk Saunders, 31, 313, 315
Clerk Tamas, 330
Clerk's Twa Sons o Owsenford, The, 316
Cloud-King, The, 107
Clyne, Norval, 73 n., 257 n.
Coble o Cargill, The, 329
Coleridge, S. T., 22, 23, 46, 97–99, 106
Collection of Early Prose Romances, A, 85
Collection of National Airs, A, 124
Collier, J. P., 117
Communal, 6–14, 39, 40, 109, 188. See *Ballads.*
Complaynt of Scotland, The, 51–54, 120
Corpus Carminum Færoensium, 174, 193, 194 n., 297
Cottle, A. S., 94
(*Countess*) *Earl of Errol, The*, 327
Courthope, W. J., 12
Cowboy Songs, 229
Cox, E. G., 15 n., 198 n.
Cox, J. H., 229
Craigie, W. A., 172 n., 200 n.
Crøger, Olea, 162–164
Croker, Crofton, 84, 85, 116
Cromek, R. H., 61–64, 66, 86, 308
Cruel Brother, The, 293, 309
Cruel Mother, The, 74, 294, 307
Cruel Sister, The, 288 n., 293, 306
Cumbrian Minstrel, The, 105
Cunningham, Allan, 43, 50, 61–64, 66, 86, 96, 205

Dæmon Lover, The, 32, 312
Dalyell, J. G., 51, 52
Dänische Volkslieder der Vorzeit, 197
Danish Ballads, 138
Danish Poetry and Ballad Writing, 95, 96 n.
Danmarks Folkeviser i Udvalg, 194, 296, 297
Danmarks gamle Folkeviser, 178, 193, 195, 197, 200, 241–246, 251, 254, 261, 262, 273–279, 281, 282, 284, 285, 292, 296, 298, 306–333
Dansk Folkemindesamling, 165 n., 178 n., 201, 202, 241–335
Danske Folkeæventyr, 273 n., 274, 280
Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg, 199 n.
Danske Kæmpeviser og Folkesange fra Middelalderen, 197 n.
Danske Kæmpeviser til Skole-Brug, 191
Danske Kjæmpeviser, 146
Danske Ridderviser, 200
Danske Sagn, 201
Danske Sange af det ældste Tidsrum, 271
Danske Viser fra Adelsvisebøger og Flyveblade, 200

Dauney, William, 116, 125
Davíðsson, Ólafur, 171
Death of Featherstonehaugh, The, 36
Death of Parcy Reed, The, 302, 331
Death of Queen Jane, The, 302, 332
Denmark, Danish, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14–17, 20, 21, 26, 46, 47, 50, 57–60, 71, 85, 94–97, 107, 113, 114, 118, 136–150, 153, 154, 156 n., 160, 169–204, 211–213, 219, 230–236, 270, 271–335
Depping, G. R., 78
Devil's Thoughts, The, 99
Dibdin, Charles and Thomas, 108
Dibdin, T. F., 115
Dick o the Cow, 302, 331
Dion et la fille du roi, 281
Disconsolate Lady, The, 318
Dives and Lazarus, 87
Dixon, J. H., 69, 117, 118, 130, 132, 307–332
Djurklou, G., 153, 154
Donald McQueen and Lizie Menzie, 322
Douglas Tragedy, The, 313
Dovaston, J. F. M., 105
(Dowie Dens) Braes o Yarrow, The, 334
Downing, James, 105
Dragon of Wantley, The, 264 n.
Draumkvædet, 164
Drowned Lovers, The, 316
Duel of Wharton and Stewart, The, 36
Duke of Athol, The, 323
Duke of Athole's Nurse, The, 332
Duke of Gordon's Daughter, The, 302, 327
Dunlop, J. C., 83, 84
Dybeck, Richard, 151, 152, 279

Earl Brand, 34, 293, 296
Earl Douglas, 334
Earl of Mar's Daughter, The, 313
Earl Richard, 74
Earl Richard's Daughter, 321
Early Metrical Tales, 67
Early Naval Ballads of England, 117
Early Scottish Ballads, 73 n.
Ebsworth, J. W., 118–121
Eddic poetry, 94, 177, 194, 198, 235, 245, 247, 253, 260, 299
Edom o Gordon, 316
Edward, 98, 234, 309
Eger and Grahame, 293
Eggleston, G. C., 228 n.
Ek, Sverker, 156 n.
Elderton, William 81
Elfin Knight, The, 293, 305
Ellekilde, Hans, 202, 242
Elling, Catharinus, 167
Elliot, FitzWilliam, 32
Ellis, George, 24 n., 35, 82, 83
Elster, Kristian, Jr., 12 n.
Elveskud, 184, 292, 294
Engelske og skotske Folkeviser, 178, 243, 251, 283, 309, 319
English and Scottish Ballads (Child), 71 n., 205–213, 224, 241–335
English and Scottish Popular Ballads, The (Child), 9 n., 26 n., 27, 30–32, 34, 86, 91, 213–226, 241–335
English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians, 126 n., 228
English Folk-Song and Dance, 126
English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions, 125, 127 n.
Enstrofig nordisk folklyrik, 161 n.
Epic, 5, 83, 105, 113, 114, 157, 186, 232, 235, 284, 298–300
Eppie Morrie, 327
Erceldoune, Thomas of, 44, 45, 329
Ericsson, G., 155
Erlinton, 292, 296, 330
Erslev, K., 203
Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad, An, 26, 29
Essay on Romance, An, 24 n., 35, 36, 38, 39
Et hundrede gamle danske Skjæmteviser, 200
Et hundrede udvalgte danske Folkeviser, 189 n.
Etatsraad Molbech og Kæmpeviserne, 190
Eve of St. Agnes, The, 104
Eve of St. John, The, 26, 27
Eyrbyggja Saga, 59, 60

Fabricius, F., 147, 182
Færøiske Kvæder, 173, 282
Færøsk Anthologi, 173, 174, 298
Færøske Folkesagn og Æventyr, 174
Fair Annie, 319
Fair Flower of Northumberland, The, 293, 294
Fair Helen of Kirconnell, 36
Fair Mary (Mabel) of Wallington, 313
Fair Maid of Perth, The, 48

Fairies, 40, 41 n., 54, 81, 84, 85, 123, 169, 294
Fairy Legends ana Traditions of the South of Ireland, 84, 85
Fairy Mythology, The, 85
Fairy Tales, 81
False (*Fause*) *Knight upon the Road, The*, 287, 293, 294, 310
False (*Fause*) *Lover Won Back, The*, 302, 323
Farmer's Curst (*Old*) *Wife, The*, 333
Faroe, Faroes, 6, 172–174, 177, 186, 193–195, 197 n., 225, 237, 244, 279, 282, 297–300, 308
Fause Foodrage, 31, 317
Faye, Andreas, 160, 161
Feilberg, H. F., 201, 202 n.
1500- och 1600-talens visböcker, 154
Festive Songs, 88, 116
Finland, Finnish, 50, 156–160, 179, 237, 255, 282
Finlay, John, 60, 61, 178, 312–334
Fire of Frendraught, The, 327
Flodden (*Floddon*) *Field*, 327. See *Battle.*
Folklore Fellows; *FF Communications*, 158, 168 n., 169 n., 202 n., 203 n.
Folk-Lore Society, The, 122
Folk-Lore Society, The American, 122
Folk-Song in Buchan, 71 n.
Folk-Song of the North-East, 71 n., 226, 274 n.
Folk-Song Society, The, 127 n.
Folk-Songs of the South, 229
Folk-tales, 107, 145, 151, 153, 158–160, 162, 167, 171, 172 n., 194, 201, 232, 233, 246, 273, 280
Folkdiktning, 153, 154
Folkeviser fra övre Telemarken, 165
Folkeviser fra Telemarken, 163 n.
Folkloristische Arbeitsmethode, Die, 158 n.
Folkvisor från Skåne, 154 n.
Forced Marriage, The, 321
Four Ages of Poetry, The, 108
France, French, 6, 17, 60, 61, 88–93, 172, 199 n., 228, 230, 280, 281, 287, 288, 294, 295, 298, 299
Fratricide, The, 309
Frere, J. H., 78
Friar in the Well, The, 333
Fry, John, 86, 334
Furnivall, F. J., 118, 119, 127, 128, 214–216, 246–248, 262, 263
Further Essays on Border Ballads, 32 n.

Gaberlunzie Man, The, 263 n.
Gagnon, Ernest, 288
Gallant Grahams, The, 332
Games and Songs of American Children, 133
Gamle danske Folkeviser, 147, 148
Gamle danske Minder, 194
Gamle jyske Folkeviser, 272, 273
Gamle norske Folkeviser, 165
Garborg, Hulda, 127
Gardener, The, 74, 323
Garland of Christmas Carols, A, 126
Gay Goshawk, The, 34, 32
Geijer, E. G., 11, 85, 149–151, 186, 233, 279
Geipa-Táttur, 298, 299
Geordie, 332
George Borrow and His Danish Ballads, 96 n.
George Borrow's Translations from the Scandinavian Languages, 96 n.
Germany, German, 7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 19, 24, 25, 39, 40, 43, 50, 58–60, 83, 85, 86, 90–94, 102, 113, 114, 139, 142, 177, 179, 186, 188, 199, 207, 208, 225, 228, 237, 245, 265, 278, 280, 287, 290, 291, 298, 299
Gernutus the Jew, 263 n.
Gest of Robyn Hode, A, 45, 92 n., 131, 324
Get up and Bar the Door, 278, 302, 328
Gil Brenton, 282, 293
Gilbert, Davies, 87, 179, 332, 309
Gilchrist, John, 91
Gilderoy, 334
Gillies, R. P., 41
Glasgerion, 315
Glasgow Peggie, 330
Gleanings of . . . Old Ballads, 70, 323–330
Glenfinlas, 26
Glenlogie, 323
Glenriddell MSS., 29, 30, 214, 215, 248, 263
Gordon, R. W., 227
Görres, J., 145
Gosse, Edmund, Sir, 96 n., 101 n.
de Gourmont, Remy, 231
Græme and Bewick, 302, 360

Grainger, Percy, 201
Grape, Anders, 151, 154 n.
Gräter, F. D., 142
Gray, R. P., 229
Gray, Thomas, 22, 77, 94
Great Silkie, The, 218 n.
Greig, Gavin, 15, 69 n., 71, 226, 274 n.
Grimm, Jakob, 7, 14, 23, 35, 60, 78, 92, 97, 113, 123, 150, 179, 207, 237
Grimm, Wilhelm, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 23, 35, 43, 60, 113, 123, 142, 144, 150, 179, 207, 208, 225, 237
Grundtvig, N. F. S., 113, 114, 191, 237, 259, 260
Grundtvig, Svend, 4, 11, 14, 20, 21, 29 n., 71, 76 n., 77, 114, 117 n., 128, 137, 144, 145, 153, 154, 164–166, 174–201, 205, 206, 208, 210–213, 215, 218–220, 222, 231–235, 237, 241–335. A brief autobiography, 251, 252
Gude and godly ballates, 51, 52
Gummere, F. B., 5 n., 8–10, 11 n.
Gutch, J. M., 125, 131
Gypsie Laddie, The, 335

Hafbur and Signy, 136
von der Hagen, F. H., 60, 316
Hales, J. W., 118, 127, 128, 214
Halewyn, 284
Hallager, Laurents, 160
Halliwell (Halliwell-Phillipps), J. O., 91 n., 117, 122–124, 328
Halvhundrede norske Fjeldmelodier, 166
Hammarsköld, L., 149
Hammershaimb, V. U., 173, 174, 279, 298 n.
Hardyknute, 73, 207
Harp of Caledonia, The, 66, 67
Harpens Kraft, 184
Hart, W. M., 5 n., 223 n., 225 n.
Havmandens Svig, 184
Hawthorn Tree, The, 302, 329
Hazelius, Artur, 154, 155
Heber, Richard, 52
Heir of Linne, The, 332
Heldenbuch, Das, 59, 83
Helligbröden, 287
Henderson, T. F., 9 n., 12, 27 n., 32, 54 n., 73 n.
Herbert, William, 94, 95, 105
Herd, David, 22, 29, 30, 31, 91, 176, 178, 208, 248, 249, 252, 255, 256, 258, 261, 263, 307–330
Herder, J. G., 7, 8, 59, 139, 179
Heroic Legends of Denmark, The, 202
Herr Axel, 320
Hillyer, R. S., 140 n.
Hind Etin, 312
Hind Horn, 293, 294, 308
Historic Survey of German Poetry, An, 93
History and Antiquities of Durham, The, 81, 82
History and Poetry of the Scottish Border, The, 133
Hobie Noble, 302, 331
Hoffmann von Fallersleben, 10
Hogg, David, 62, 63
Hogg, James, 34, 64–66, 102, 130
von Hohenhausen, Elise, 43 n.
Höijer, L., 149, 152
Holland, Dutch, 177, 186, 245, 283
Holofernes, 286 n., 318
Holy Nunnery, The, 317
Hone, William, 87, 88
Horn of King Arthur, The, 254
Howitt, William and Mary, 137
Hudson, A. P., 229 n.
Hugh of Lincoln, 320. See *Hugues* and *Sir Hugh.*
Hughie Grame, 302, 331
Hugues de Lincoln, 90, 91
Hultin, M. H., 155, 160 n.
Hume, Abraham, 91 n.
Hunt, Leigh, 104, 105
Husk, W. H., 126
Hyltén-Cavallius, G. O., 192, 279

Ibsen, Henrik, 167, 168
Iceland, Icelandic, 94, 139, 170–173, 177, 186, 193, 237, 244, 245, 280, 282–285, 298, 299, 308, 314
Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, 58–60, 83, 309, 311, 312
Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland, 73 n.
Indian, The American, 228
Ingemann, B. S., 146, 176, 192, 235
Ingoldsby Legends, The, 134
Instructions, 90, 280, 281, 288
Ireland, Irish, 70, 84, 85, 108, 115, 116, 217, 237, 288

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, 171, 193, 280, 281–283, 308, 314, 317
Ivanhoe, 48

Jacobite Relics, The, 66
Jakobsen, Jakob, 174
Jamie Telfer in the Fair Dodhead, 29, 31, 47, 302, 331
Jamieson, Robert, 12, 21, 34, 47, 55–60, 80, 91, 95, 96, 130, 133, 137, 150, 178, 231, 248, 249, 255, 256, 261, 263, 264, 306–332
Jeffrey, Francis, 42, 43
Jellon Grame, 30, 31
Jerdan, W., 117
Jock o the Side, 302, 331
Jock Sheep, 328
Jock the Leg and the Merry Merchant, 324
John Dory, 335
John of Hazelgreen, 74, 302, 334
John Seton, 302
John Thompson and the Turk, 223
Johnie Armstrong, 40, 331
Johnie Cock (*Johnie of Breadislee*), 30, 36, 86, 254, 324
Johnie Scot, 323
Johnson, G. B., 229
Johnson, G. P., 107 n., 108 n.
Johnson, James, 61, 124, 178, 307–330
Johnson, Samuel, 22, 100, 106, 234
Jolly Beggars, The, 62
Jolly Pinder of Wakefield, The, 325
Jónasson, Jónas, 171 n.
Jónsson, Finnur, 170, 172
Jørgensen, A. D., 203
Journal of a Tour in the Highlands, 52, 53
Jovial Hunter of Broomsgrove, The, 287
Judas, 136, 294
Jydske Folkeminder, 201
Jydske Folkeviser og Toner, 198 n., 201, 272–274

Kalevala, 39, 157, 158, 237, 282
Katherine Jaffray (*Janfarie*), 34, 323
Keats, John, 104, 131
Keen of the South of Ireland, 116
Keightley, Thomas, 85
Keith, Alexander, 226 n., 274 n.
Kemp Owyne (*Kempion*), 39, 40, 329
Ker, W. P., 203
Kidson, Frank, 125, 126
King and the Miller, The, 333
King Arthur and King Cornwall, 254, 299 n., 300, 311
King Arthur's Death, 254, 302, 335
King Edward the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth, 278, 302, 328
King Estmere, 264, 311
King Henry, 311
(*King*) *Henry Fifth's Conquest of France*, 334
King John and the Bishop (*Abbot*), 255, 302, 333
King Malcolm and Sir Colvin, 270
King Orfeo, 174, 290 n., 293–295
King's Dochter Jean, The, 293
Kinloch, G. R., 73–75, 176, 179, 208, 214, 215, 224, 231, 249, 263–265, 269, 305–334
Kinmont Willie, 22, 28, 30–33, 40, 130, 302, 331
Kittredge, G. L., 9, 10, 56 n., 221, 222, 226, 227, 229 n.
Kjæmpeviser (Winding; Winther), 145, 146
Klüwer, L. D., 161
Knight Aagen and Maiden Else, 136
Knight's Ghost, The, 329
Knight's Question, The, 306
Köhler, Reinhold, 112 n., 220
Kolberg, Oskar, 287
Kölbing, Eugen, 45 n., 298, 299
Koschwitz, Eduard, 299
Kristensen, E. T., 15, 198 n., 200, 201, 272–274, 288 n., 308–329
Kritiske Bemærkninger og Resultater, 189 n.
Krohn, Julius, 157
Krohn, Kaarle, 157, 158, 203 n., 220
Kuhn, Adalbert, 92
Kunstlieder im Volksmunde, 11
Kvindelist, 281
Kvindemorderen, 280, 281, 286–290
Kvintalin, 284

La Belle Dame sans Merci, 104
Lads of Wamphray, The, 302, 332
Lady Diamond, 319
Lady Elspat, 331
Lady Isabel, 261 n., 319
Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight, 287 n., 292, 293, 306

Lady Isabella's Tragedy, 302, 334
Lady Jane (*The King's Dochter Lady Jean*), 58, 320
Lady Mary Ann, 302
Lady on the Stake, The, 315
Lady Stableboy, The, 320
Lady Turned Servingman, The, 333
Lagus, Ernst, 159, 160
Laidlaw, William, 34, 65
Laing, Alexander, 67, 322, 323, 329, 330
Laing, David, 67, 69, 70, 124, 215, 250, 252, 263, 309
Laird of Blackwood, The, 74
Laird and the Shepherd's Daughter, The, 320
Laird Murdered by His Leman, The, 315
Laird o Drum, The, 335
Laird of Lochnie, The, 74.
Laird of Logie (*Ochiltree*), *The*, 74, 330
Laird o Meldrum and Peggy Douglass, The, 333
Laird of Muirhead, The, 302, 327
Laird of Southland's Courtship, The, 321
Laird of Wariston, The, 74, 317
Lamkin, 317
Landstad, M. B., 161–167, 205, 279, 312
Laneham, Robert, 119, 120
Lang, Andrew, 9, 10, 25, 28, 32, 33, 65 n., 78 n., 106 n., 133, 135, 220
Larsen, Henning, 163 n.
Larsen, Sofus, 203
Lass of Roch Royal (*Lochroyan*), *The*, 30, 315
Last Leaves (Greig), 69 n., 71 n., 226, 274 n.
Laub, Thomas, 203
Lavengro, 95
Lawrence, W. W., 284 n.
Lay le Frain, 39, 83
Lay of the Last Minstrel, The, 45, 46
Leesome Brand, 281, 293, 329
Legends, 59, 68, 82, 85, 89, 94, 101, 160, 167, 171–174, 177, 201, 202, 232, 233, 246, 291, 293, 294
Lenore, 24, 26, 86, 93
Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves, 203 n.
Levin, Israel, 191
Levninger af Middelalderens Digtekunst, 141, 271, 279, 310, 317
Levy, Paul, 11
Lewis, M. G. ("Monk"), 24, 26, 27, 42, 78, 106, 107, 134, 235, 308
Ley, C. S., 177, 180
Leyden, John, 26, 34, 40–42, 51–55, 106
Liden Engel og hendes Broder, 283
Liebenberg, F. L., 191
Liebrecht, Felix, 167 n., 220, 255, 273, 275, 314, 316, 318
Liestøl, Knut, 4, 163, 164–166, 168 n., 169, 199 n.
Life of Allan Cunningham, The, 62, 63
Life of King Arthur, The, 81
Limgrises Vise, 291, 293
Lindeman, L. M., 162, 164, 166, 279
Lindsay, David, 53
Literature and Romance of Northern Europe, The, 137
Little Boke of Ballads, A, 115
Little Red Riding Hood, 107
Little John and the Four Beggers, 326
Lizie Baillie, 322
Lizie Lindsay, 322
Lizie Wan, 54, 293, 320
Lochinvar, 46
Lochmaben Harper, The, 31, 302, 331
Lockhart, J. G., 24, 33, 45 n., 77, 78
Loève-Veimars, Adolphe, Baron, 90
Logan, W. H., 132
Lomax, J. A., 227, 229
Longfellow, H. W., 235
Lönnrot, Elias, 157
Lootens, Adolphe (et Feys, J. M. E.), 287
Lord Aboyne, 330
Lord Barnard and Little Musgrave, 314
Lord Bateman, 323
Lord Derwentwater, 302, 303, 328
Lord Donald, 74
Lord Ewrie, 36, 89, 302
Lord Henry and Fair Eleanor, 302
Lord Ingram (*and Chiel Wyet*), 316
Lord Livingston, 316
Lord Lovel, 315
Lord of Lorn (*Learne*), *The*, 333
Lord Randal, 19, 123
Lord Saltoun and Auchanachie, 329
Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (*Annie; Eleanor*), 39, 58, 315
Lord Thomas (*Willie*) *o Winsbury*, 323
Lord Thomas Stuart, 317
Lover Carries off the Bride, The, 322
Lover's Quarrel, The, 334

Loving Wife, The, 334
Lowell Lectures, 247, 250–253, 257
Lowth, Robert, 7
Lundell, J. A., 151, 154 n., 159 n.
Lyngbye, H. C., 173, 279, 308
Lyric, 5, 8, 9, 20, 53, 63, 64, 67, 73, 86–89, 94, 100–105, 130–137, 151, 152, 158, 159, 161, 164, 172, 186, 223 n., 229, 232, 233, 254
Lyrical Ballads, 100–102

Mabinogion, 84, 85
Mackenzie, W. R., 228
Macmath, William, 4, 68, 74, 75 n., 215, 218 n., 220, 223, 256 n.
Macpherson, James, 52–54, 99
Mærkelig Vise om de Søfarne Mænd, En, 295
Magyar, 96, 97, 289, 290
Maid and the Magpie, The, 123
Maid and the Palmer, The, 293, 294
Maid Marian, 109
Maidment, James, 66, 73 n., 129, 130, 132, 309–329
Maitland, 115, 116
Manuscripts, 118, 119, 127, 128, 143, 144, 149, 151, 153–155, 174, 175, 187, 190, 192, 201, 202, 209–211, 213–218, 230, 231, 239–335
Margaret, 174, 282
Marmion, 46, 47
Marriage of Sir Gawain, The, 302, 311
Marsk Stig, 5, 197 n.
Mary Hamilton, 34
Mason, M. H., 125
Mathias, James, 107
May Colvin, 269, 286 n., 317
Meddelelser angående Færøernes Litteratur og Sprog, 197 n.
Medieval Popular Ballad, The, 5 n., 15 n., 198 n.
Meier, John, 11, 156 n., 158 n., 203 n.
Meredith, George, 136
Metrical Legends, 68, 105
Michel, François, 90, 91
Mickle, W. J., 48, 67
Minstrels, minstrelsy, 27, 38, 39, 45, 54, 60, 61, 80, 86, 108, 124, 132, 243, 311
Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern, 70, 75, 77, 179, 267, 270, 287, 301, 304
Minstrelsy of the English Border, The, 131, 309
Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, 27–78, 80, 83, 86, 89, 103, 130, 139, 178, 207, 234, 263, 267, 306–331
Moe, Jørgen, 142 n., 160–162, 164 n., 166, 167, 279
Moe, Moltke (J. M.), 4, 164 n., 166 n., 167–169
Molbech, Christian, 142, 188–193, 279
Montgomery, James, 105
Moore, J. S., 131
Moore, Thomas, 90 n., 105, 250
Morley, Henry, 106, 107
Morris, William, 136, 137, 235
Motherwell, William, 5, 29 n., 33, 68, 70–73, 75–77, 91, 130, 133, 175, 176, 179, 180, 186, 189, 205, 208, 214, 224, 249, 258, 261, 263, 267, 270, 287, 301, 304, 307–334
Mountain Bard, The, 65, 66
Müller, P. E., 173
Munch, P. A., 162, 163, 192
Murder of the King of Scots (*Darnley*), *The*, 302, 332
Murdoch, J. B., 77 n., 215
Myths, mythology, 21, 41 n., 92, 94, 172, 173, 177, 186, 195, 202 n., 232, 235, 276, 277, 291

Några prof af folksång och saga, 159, 287
Neal, Mary, 126
Negro and His Songs, The, 229
Negro Workaday Songs, 229
New Book of Old Ballads, A, 129
Newell, W. W., 133, 229
New-Slain Knight, The, 321
Nibelungenlied, 5, 39, 59, 60, 83, 235
Nielsen, H. G., 200, 202, 203, 242
Nimmo, A., 133
Noble Fisherman, The, 326
Nogle Folkevise-Redactioner, 198 n., 203
Nordboernes Aandsliv, 203
Noreen, Adolf, 151, 154
Norfolk Anthology, The, 123
Norse, Norn, 48, 59, 77, 82, 83, 92, 94, 136, 177, 198, 245, 247, 250, 251, 260, 283, 284, 286, 289, 298
Norsk Folkedikting, 169 n.
Norsk Folkeminnesamling, 165–169
Norske Ættesogor, 169
Norske Folke-Sagn, 160
Norske Folkeviser (Landstad), 163, 164

Norske Folkeviser . . . etter Sophus Bugge, 166 n.
Norske Folkevisor, 169
Norske Trollvisor og norrøne Sogor, 169, 199 n.
Norskt Folkevisearbeid, 169 n.
North Country Garland, A, 129, 309, 312, 315, 323
Northern Garlands, 81
Northumberland Betrayed, 302, 332
Northumbrian Minstrelsy, 125
Norton, C. E., 216
Norway, Norwegian, 4, 50, 95, 96, 136, 142 n., 144, 145, 156 n., 160–170, 172, 173, 192, 199, 225, 230, 231, 234, 235, 237, 245, 279, 286, 287, 291, 298
Norwegian Fairytales, The, 169 n.
Novel, novels, 36, 47–49, 83, 84, 140
Nugæ Poeticæ, 123
Nursery rhymes, 117, 123, 125, 331
Nyerup, Rasmus, 11, 85, 141–147, 149, 161, 181, 182, 271 n., 279, 320
Nyländska folkvisor, 160

Ochiltree. See *Laird of Logie*.
Odum, H. W., 229
Oehlenschläger, Adam, 137, 139–142, 146–148, 181, 235, 279
Old Christmas Carols, 117
Old English Ballads, 11
Old Lady's MS., 68
Old Robin of Portingale, 55, 314
Old Woman of Berkeley, The, 103
Olrik, Axel, 138, 166 n., 168 n., 194 n., 199–203, 290 n., 297 n.
Om Behandlingen af Kæmpeviserne, 182 n.
Om de gamle danske Folkevisers Beskaffenhed og Forhold, 189 n., 190
Om Kæmpevise-Bogen, 191
Om Udgivelsen af Kæmpeviserne, 190
On the Fairies of Popular Superstition, 40
On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs, 229
Oriental, 53, 83, 84, 299
Original Ballads, 134
Ossian, 26, 52, 53, 99, 100, 139, 177
Outlaw Murray, The, 30, 36, 254, 331
Overcourteous Knight, The, 328

Palatine Anthology, The, 123
Palatine Garland, The, 123
Paludan-Müller, C., 175, 192
Paris, Gaston, 13
Parodies, 66, 79, 87, 101–110, 134
Peacock, T. L., 108–110
Pedlar's Pack of Ballads and Songs, A, 132
Pepys, Samuel, 215, 246, 254
Percival, Milton, 213
Percy, Thomas, 3, 5, 12, 17, 22–29, 32, 34, 38, 41–43, 56, 57, 64, 78, 80–83, 89, 91, 99, 100, 106, 115, 121, 124, 125, 128, 164, 178, 205, 206, 208, 215, 224, 234, 235, 243, 248, 249, 263, 264, 270, 274, 291, 321, 328, 330
Percy Folio MS., The, 6, 23, 56, 57, 80, 81, 118, 127, 209, 215, 243, 260 n., 262, 263, 274, 291, 299 n., 305–335
Percy Society, The, 69, 88, 116–118, 123
Perrow, E. C., 229 n.
Peter Bell, 101, 104
Petersen, C. S., 147 n., 184 n., 193 n., 203
Petersen, N. M., 146, 147, 182, 183, 188, 190
Pickford, J., 127
Pictorial Book of Ballads, The, 131
Pieces of Ancient Poetry, 86, 179
Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry, 81
Pinkerton, John, 3, 51 n., 53, 91, 178, 307, 314
Pirate, The, 48
Pitrè, G., 220
Plan (Grundtvig), 184, 185, 187, 192, 197, 251, 284
Poems and Ballads, 54 n.
Poetic Mirror, The, 66
Poetic Origins and the Ballad, 13 n., 227 n., 229 n.
Poisoned Boy (Knight), The, 309
Poland, Polish, 287, 288, 294
Political Ballads, 117
Political Songs of England, 116
Pommer, Joseph, 8
Popular Ballad, The, 5 n., 9 n.
Popular Ballads and Songs (Jamieson), 55–57, 178
Popular Ballads and Songs (Loève-Veimars), 90
Popular Heroic and Romantic Ballads, 58, 59
Popular Music of the Olden Time, 124, 125
Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales, 123

Popular Rhymes of Scotland, 72, 73 n., 123
Popular Songs of Ireland, 85
Pound, Louise, 12, 13, 227, 229
Prince Robert, 319
Prior, R. C. A., 137, 138, 270, 308, 317, 335
Professor Child and the Ballad, 223, 225 n.
Proud Lady Margaret, 314
Proud Maitland, 322
Prøver af Folkeviser samlede i øvre Telemarken, 163 n.
Provost's Dochter, The, 74
Puymaigre, Le comte (Théodore) de, 281, 288

Queen Eleanor's Confession, 278, 328
Queen of Scotland (and Troy Muir), The, 269, 317
Queen's Mary, The, 327
Queen's Wake, The, 65, 66
Quest of the Ballad, The, 228

Rääf, L. F., 149–151
Rahbek, K. L., 11, 85, 141–147, 149, 181, 182
Ramsay, Allan, 52, 64, 67, 313, 329, 330
Rancken, J. O. I., 158, 159, 287, 294
Rankin, James, 69, 71
Rask, Rasmus, 170
Rasmussen, P., 145, 279, 320
Ravens (Three Ravens), The, 293, 310
Reburn, Margaret, 217, 288 n.
von der Recke, Ernst, 12, 198,203
Redesdale and Wise William, 322
Redselille og Medelvold, 281, 290
Refrains, 8, 9, 150, 185, 277, 283, 286, 297, 305, 321
Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, 23, 24, 26, 41, 43, 56, 80, 81, 99, 100, 125, 129, 139, 178, 234, 270 n., 321, 328, 330
Reliques of Robert Burns, 61, 62
Reliquiæ Antiquæ, 123, 294
Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song, 62, 63
Remarks on Popular Poetry, 23, 38 n.
Renaud et ses 14 femmes, 281
Restituta, 91
Rhymes of Northern Bards, 86
Ribold and Guldborg, 281
Richardson, M. A., 130, 131 n., 309
Richie Story, 327, 332
Riddles, The, 328
Riddles Wisely Expounded, 293
Rimbault, E. F., 125, 306
Rímur, 171, 172
Rising in the North, The, 89, 101, 302, 332
Ritson, Joseph, 3, 12, 22, 23, 29, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43 n., 56 n., 57, 64, 73, 80 n., 83, 86, 89, 92, 124, 131,175, 178, 180, 205, 208, 309–329
Rob Roy, 34, 48, 102, 302, 334
Robertson, Joseph, 74
Robin Goodfellow, 117
Robin, Lend to Me Thine Bow, 302
Robin Hood, 4, 5, 45, 48, 81, 85, 91, 92, 102, 104, 109, 110, 119, 125, 131, 211, 218, 234, 254, 257, 278, 302
Robin Hood (Gutch), 125, 131 n.
Robin Hood (Ritson), 81, 92, 178
Robin Hood and Allen a Dale, 326
Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, 302, 325
Robin Hood and Little John, 325
Robin Hood and Queen Katherine, 326
Robin Hood and the Beggar, 325
Robin Hood and the Bishop, 326
Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford, 326
Robin Hood and the Butcher, 324
Robin Hood and the Curtal Friar, 325
Robin Hood and the Monk, 278, 302, 324
Robin Hood and the Old Man, 302, 325
Robin Hood and the Pedlars, 325
Robin Hood and the Potter, 278, 324
Robin Hood and the Ranger, 325
Robin Hood and the Scotchman, 326
Robin Hood and the Shepherd, 325
Robin Hood and the Stranger, 326
Robin Hood and the Tanner, 325
Robin Hood and the Tanner's Daughter, 326
Robin Hood and the Tinker, 325
Robin Hood Garlands and Ballads, 131 n.
Robin Hood Rescuing Three Squires (the Widow's Three Sons), 302, 325
Robin Hood Rescuing Will Stutly, 326
Robin Hood's Chase, 326
Robin Hood's Death (and Burial), 326
Robin Hood's Delight, 325
Robin Hood's Golden Prize, 326

Robin Hood's Progress to Nottingham, 326
Robinson, H. C., 93
Robyn and Gandeleyn, 19, 324, 326
Rochholz, E. L., 287
Rodd, Thomas, 78
Roland, 287
Rollins, H. E., 213
Romance, romances, 35–39, 44–48, 53, 54, 59, 60, 79–85, 98–100, 105, 114–117, 119, 120, 124, 130, 144, 209, 212, 223 n., 232, 233, 243, 291, 293, 298, 299, 302
Romantic Ballads, 95–97
Romantic Scottish Ballads and the Lady Wardlaw Heresy, The, 73 n.
Romantic Scottish Ballads, The: Their Epoch and Authorship, 72
Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen, 300
Rønnau, C. T., 151
Rookhope Ryde, 86, 89, 302, 331
Rose the Red and White Lily, 322, 326
Rosenberg, C., 203
Ross, Hans, 162
Rossetti, D. G., 134, 235
Roxburghe, 115, 120, 215, 246, 247, 254, 330
Runa, 151, 152, 291
Runeberg, J. L., 157
Ruud, M. B., 164 n., 284 n.

Saga, sagas, 59, 60, 83, 94, 113, 159, 171, 235, 246, 247, 253, 284, 298, 299
St. Stephen and Herod, 88, 137, 193, 194, 302, 314
Samson the Fair, 284
Sandburg, Carl, 229
Sandvig, B. K., 141, 271 n., 279
Sandvik, O. M., 167
Sandys, William, 87–89, 116, 314
Sargent, Helen Child, 9 n., 226
Scarborough, Dorothy, 229
Scarce Ancient Ballads, 67, 70
Scenes of Infancy, 52, 54
Schaldemose, Frederik, 146, 279
Schlegel, A. W., 10, 25, 94
Schottische Lieder und Balladen, 43
Schröer, M. M. A., 129
Schröter, J. H., 174
Schubart, Henriette, 43
Schück, Henrik, 151, 154, 156 n., 198, 199 n.
Schwedische Volkslieder der Vorzeit, 10
Scotish Ballads and Songs, 66 n., 73 n., 129
Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, 51
Scots Musical Museum, The, 61, 124, 178
Scott, Robert, 56
Scott, Walter, Sir, 3, 12, 22–83, 86, 89, 90 n., 94, 95, 98, 103, 105–107, 109, 112, 114, 115, 130, 133, 135, 139, 150, 164, 178, 205–208, 224, 231, 233–235, 248, 249, 256, 263, 264, 267, 268, 306–331
Scottish Ballads (Chambers), 72
Scottish Ballads: Their Evidence of Authorship and Origin, 226 n.
Scottish Historical and Romantic Ballads, 178
Scottish Songs, 72
Scottish Songs and Ballads, 30
Scottish Traditional Versions of Ancient Ballads, 117
Select Collection of English Songs, A, 81
Select Icelandic Poetry, 94
Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry, 84
Select Remains . . . Popular Poetry of Scotland, 67
Select Scotish Songs, 61, 62
Select Scottish Ballads, 178
Servian Popular Poetry, 97
Shakespeare, William, 123, 249
Sharp, Cecil J., 20, 125–127, 228
Sharpe, C. K., 34, 67–70, 129, 176, 179, 205, 214, 307–330
Sharpe, Cuthbert, 89
Sheale, Richard, 39
Sheath and Knife, 293
Sheldon, Frederick, 131, 309
Shelley, P. B., 104
Shetland, 174, 283, 286, 289, 290, 293–295
Shropshire Folk-Lore, 133
Sibbald, James, 51, 52
Sigurðsson, Jón, 171, 193
Silva de romances viejos, 78
Simms, W. G., 228 n.
Sir Aldingar, 312
Sir Andrew Barton, 302, 330
Sir Cawline, 270 n., 311
Sir Eglamour of Artois, 293
Sir Gawain, 278

Sir Hugh, 90, 91, 123, 217, 288, 320
Sir James the Rose, 335
Sir John Butler, 302, 327
Sir John Suckling's Campaign, 302, 335
Sir Lionel, 269, 287, 291–295
Sir Patrick Spens, 4, 37, 73, 97, 218, 229, 234, 312
Sir Roland, 270, 314
Sir Tristrem, 44, 45, 54, 59 n., 60
Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy, 32 n., 65 n., 106 n.
Sjúrðar Kvæði, 173
Skånska visor, 154
Skeat, W. W., 86 n., 127, 128, 220
Skene, 68, 116, 214
Skiøn Anna, 58
Skotlands Rímur, 172 n.
Slav, Slavic, 58, 96, 97, 225, 246, 255, 283, 287, 288, 290, 296
Smith, C. A., 227
Smith, Reed, 229
Smith, Victor, 280
Smith-Dampier, E. M., 138
Societies, 115-125, 127, 129, 147, 148, 154–160, 169, 170, 181–204, 215, 246, 247, 262, 263, 283
Some Ancient Christmas Carols, 87, 179
Some Songs Traditional in the United States, 229 n.
Son Davie, 293
Son the Avenger, The, 317
Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution, 228 n.
Songs and Ballads of the Maine Lumberjacks, 229
Songs and Carols, 178
Songs of Scandinavia, 96
Songs of Scotland, The, 63, 64
Songs of the Nativity, 126
South Carolina Ballads, 229
Southey, Robert, 26, 78, 89, 102–106, 109, 235
Spanish Ballad Problems, 39 n.
Specimen (Grundtvig's *Prøve*), 184, 187, 190
Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect, 89
Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, 24 n., 82, 83
Specimens of the Early English Poets, 81
Stagg, John, 105
Stainer, John, 126
Steenbloch, C. E., 161
Steenstrup, J. C. H. R., 5 n., 15, 198, 199 n., 203, 259 n.
Steffen, R., 161 n.
Steinthal, H., 8
Stenhouse, William, 73 n., 124, 125
Stephanovitch, Vuk, 97
Stephens, George, 153, 192, 250, 279
Stev, 161, 164, 166 n.
Stokoe, F. W., 94 n.
Stokoe, John, 125
Storm, Edvard, 146
Storm, Gustav, 298 n., 300
Struthers, John, 66, 67
Stuart, John, 250, 252
Studies in Anglo-Scandinavian Literary Relations, 96 n.
Study of Folk-Song in America, The, 227 n.
Suffolk Garland, The, 86, 87
Suffolk Miracle (*Wonder*), *The*, 86, 223, 254
Supplementary Comments (Grundtvig), 184, 185, 187, 189, 197
Surtees, Robert, 36, 79, 81, 82, 89, 115, 130
Svabo, J. C., 173, 174, 298
Svaning's MS., 291
Svenska folkvisan, Den, 156 n.
Svenska folkvisor, 11, 149–151
Svenska fornsånger, 151, 157
Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 159, 160
Svenska vallvisor och hornlåtor, 152
Svenska visor, 152, 279
Sveriges historiska och politiska visor, 153, 279
Sweden, Swedish, 10, 11, 123, 127, 142, 148–160, 169, 171, 179, 187, 188, 199, 231, 237, 244, 278, 279, 283, 287, 291, 293, 294
Sweet William's Ghost, 313
Sweet Willie, 74
Swinburne, A. C., 43, 44, 134, 135, 205, 235
von Sydow, C. W., 153 n., 156
Sylvester, Joshua, 126
Syv, Peder, 16, 139, 145, 146, 185, 270, 271, 279, 314, 335

Tale of Tamlane, The, 40
Tales and Popular Fictions, 85

Tales of Terror, 26, 106–108
Tales of the North American Indians, 228 n.
Tales of Wonder, 26, 54, 103–108
Talvj (Mrs. Edward Robinson), 10
Tam Linn, 129
Taming of a Shrew, The, 264 n.
Taylor, Archer, 158 n.
Taylor, George, 79 n., 82
Taylor, William, of Norwich, 24–26, 58 n., 93–95, 102, 103
Tegnér, Esaias, 152, 235
Tender Bride, The, 315
Thackeray, W. M., 134
Thèse de littérature sur . . . Robin Hood, 91, 92
Thiele, J. M., 85, 181, 291, 293
Thistle of Scotland, The, 67
Thomas of Erceldoune, 329
Thomas o Yonderdale, 321
Thomas (the) Rymer, 27, 28, 34, 45, 48, 60, 329
Thompson, Henry, 134
Thompson, Stith, 158 n., 228 n.
Thoms, W. J., 85, 112 n.
Thomsen, Vilhelm, 290
Thorkelin, G., 58, 113
Thornton Romances, 116
Thorsen, P. G., 182, 183
Thortsen, C. A., 147
Three Knights, The, 87
Three Sisters, The, 87
Thuren, Hjalmar, 172–174
Tolman, A. H., 227, 229 n.
Tomson, G. R., 133
Traditional Ballad Airs, 125
Traditional Texts and Tunes, 229 n.
Traditional Tunes, 125
Tragica, 185, 254, 255, 270, 279, 317
Translations from the German, Danish, etc., 94
Trumpeter of Fyvie, The, 302, 324
Trustworthiness of Border Ballads, The, 32 n.
Turnament of Tottenham, The, 263 n.
Twa Brothers, The, 319
Twa Corbies, The, 41
Twa Knights, The, 316
Twa Magicians, The, 269, 313
Twa Sisters, The, 57
Twelve Romantic Scottish Ballads, 73
Tyler, M. C., 228 n.
Tytler, Mary Fraser, 215
Tytler, William, 55, 56, 263

Über die Entstehung der altdeutschen Poesie, 7 n.
Udvalg af danske Viser, 145
Udvalgte danske Viser, 11, 143–145, 161
Uhland, Ludwig, 7, 179, 188, 208
Ulinger, 294
Ulver, 284
Ungarische Volksdichtung, 289
Ungrateful Knight, The, 309
Universal Songster, The, 108
Ur Nerikes folkspråk och folklif, 153, 154
Ussing, Henrik, 203 n.
Utterson, E. V., 84, 328

Vedel, Anders, 95, 139, 145, 146, 185, 231, 270, 279, 312, 313
Veitch, John, 133
Vesterdalarne, 291
Vischer, F. T., 8
Volkskunde, 112, 233
Vore Folkeviser fra Middelalderen, 203
Vulgar, vulgarity, 71 n., 248–250, 254, 264

Wales, Welsh, 53, 84, 85, 109, 237, 291, 299
Walker, William, 70 n., 71
Wallmann, D. S. and J. H., 150, 151
Wanderer of Switzerland, The, 105
Wanton Wife of Bath, The, 264 n.
War Poetry of the South, 228 n.
Warburton, William, 53
Wardlaw, Lady, 12, 73, 312
Wärend och Wirdarne, 153
Warrens, Rosa, 10,197
Warton, Thomas, 22, 53, 83
Water of Wearie's Well, The, 318
Weber, Henry, 58–60, 83, 327
Wee Wee Man, The, 329
Weinhold, Karl, 112 n.
Welhaven, J. S., 146, 168
Well of St. Keyne, The, 88
Wergeland, Henrik, 168
West Country Damosel's Complaint, The, 302
Weyse, C. E. F., 145, 146
Wheatley, H. B., 129
White, Robert, 54 n.
White Doe of Rylstone, The, 101

White Fisher, The, 321
Whitelaw, Alexander, 130, 317, 322, 331
Whittier, J. G., 235
Whittington's Advancement, 264 n.
Whummil Bore, The, 293, 310
Wiede, L. C., 155
Wiener, Leo, 255 n.
Wife of Auchtermuchty, The, 264 n.
Wife of Usher's Well, The, 31, 314
Wigström, Eva, 153, 154, 231
Wild Boar, The, 290, 291, 305
Wild Huntsmen, The, 24, 26
Will Stewart and John, 333
William and Helen, 24, 25
William Wallace, 324
Willie Macintosh (and the Burning of Auchindown), 302, 331
Willie the Widow's Son, 316
Willie's Drowned in Gamery, 330
Willie's Fatal Visit, 269, 314
Willie's Lady, 293, 308
Willie's Lyke-Wake, 321
Wilson, James, 63
Wimberly, L. C., 227
Wimmer, L., 200
Winding, A. F., 146
Winther, Christian, 145, 146
Wolf, Ferdinand, 10
Wolff, O. L. B., 85
Wolff, S. O., 161
Wordsworth, William, 99–102, 106, 109
Worme of Lambton, The, 89
Wright, H. G., 96 n.
Wright, Thomas, 84, 92, 116, 117, 123, 124, 324, 328
Wundt, W. M., 8

Yorkshire Anthology, The, 123
Young Allan, 269, 313
Young Andrew, 235, 333
Young Bearwell, 320
Young Beichan, 57 n., 323
Young Benjie, 313
Young Hasting, 311
Young Peggy, 302
Young Ronald, 223, 269, 311
Young Tamlane, 312
Young Waters, 316

Zentralisation der Sammlungsarbeit in Norwegen, Die, 169 n.
Zur Chronologie der englischen Balladen, 225 n.

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